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The Indian Historical Quarterly

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Early Tamil Religious Literature

Introductory

The end of the fifth century or the commencement of the sixth century may be roughly stated to be the period when the Śaṅgam Age of the Tamils came to an end. One may not be far wrong if it is said that the active period of the Śaṅgam ended with the third century and a decline set in in the literary output which can be definitely marked as of Śaṅgam age. But the period of the decline seems to have spread over nearly two centuries when some of the minor works which go under the category of *Patiṇeṇkīḻkaṇakku*[1] were produced. According to one view Nāladiyār and Kaḷavaḷinārpatu, which are among these eighteen Didactics, are to be ascribed to a period later than the Śaṅgam. Nāladiyār which contains 400 quatrains is a work of different poets. Like the *Tirukkuṛaḷ* of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, this composition is a treatise on practical morals acceptable to followers of all creeds or faiths. The lateness of the work is believed to be evidenced by the fact of the mention of Muttaraiyar in stanzas 200 and 296.[2]

Some identify this Muttaraiyar with the Muttaraśa chieftains who were feudatories of the Pallava and Pāṇḍya kings during the eighth century A.D. But the expression Muttaraiyar need not necessarily refer to the Muttaraśar chieftains, but may, in all probability, be a reference to the three traditional kings—Coḷa, Cera and Pāṇḍya. Yet the traditional view

1 Much difficulty is experienced in arranging dates for *kīḻkaṇakku* works. There is a remarkable variation in diction among many of these works.

2 Perumuttaraiyar Perituvantiyum (200).
karuṇaicco ṛārvar kayavar
... ...
nalkūrntak kaṇṇum Perumuttaraiyare 296.
celvaraic cenṛiravā tār.

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that the Nāladiyār was one of the productions of the Jaina Saṅgha established at Madura about 450 A.D. may not be quite unacceptable. If this view be accepted, then Nāladiyār is a composition of the middle of the fifth century,[3] which may well be said to be the last days of the glorious Śaṅgam Age.

The other work of the Patiṇeṇkīḻkaṇakku which is also considered to be a post-Śaṅgam composition is the *Kaḷavaḻinārpatu* by Poyhaiyār. This is a poem of forty veṇbās sung by the post Poyhaiyār belauding the Cera king Kaṇaikkāl-Irumporai who discomfited the Coḷa monarch Koccenganāṉ in the battle of Kaḷumalam, and took him prisoner. The poet praises the Cera's valour and obtains release of the Coḷa monarch. Before the actual release occurs, the tragedy is enacted. Koccenganāṉ who prefers honour to life dies of thirst.[4]

One evidence adduced in favour of the late date is again his reference to Tiraiyar according to the commentator of the *Yāpparumkalavirutti*.[5] If we accept the authority of this commentator,—and there seems to be no particular reason to reject this,—the reference to Tiraiyar cannot take us very far. The reference in this case is not to Muttaraiyar but only to Tiraiyar, and students of South Indian history know of a ruling Tamil dynasty which went by the name of the Tiraiyar and which had its capital at Kāñci, later the capital of the Pallavas. The Tiraiyar line seems to have commenced in the middle of the second century A.D., the hey-day of the Śaṅgam period. In the light of this circumstance it does not appear quite acceptable that this Poyhaiyār of the Śaṅgam may be one and the same as Poyhai Āḻvār probably of the sixth century A.D.[5a] If we grant that both the Śaṅgam Poyhaiyār and Poyhai Āḻvār are one and the same person, this leads to the inference that the Śaṅgam Age continued to the sixth century A.D., and later, and that Koccenganāṉ lived in that period.

3 Another view is that the Nāladiyar might have been compiled at this time but not actually composed. *Paḷamoḻi* for example conforms to the rules of prosody more than Nāladiyār.

4 The colophon to Puṟam 74: also K. G. Sesha Aiyar, *Cera Kings of the Sangam period* (1937), pp. 67-69.

5 See p. 518 of the edition—by S. Bavanandam Pillai (1916). The line naṟumālai tārāy *tiraiyavō* veṇṇum. This stanza is said to be by Poyhaiyar.

5a See *Tamil Varalāru* pp. 176-7 by K. S. Srinivasa Pillai contra. M. Raghava Aiyangar: *Āḻvārkal kālanilai* pp. 23-29—second ed.

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It is neither feasible nor plausible to extend the age of the Śaṅgam to any indefinite length. For in the writings of this century which indeed reflect the views and feelings of the people of that century, we do not find that outlook on life and things in general which characterises all Śaṅgam works. No more are the themes on the four, or more correctly, five *tiṇais*.[6] War and love which dominate to a pre-eminent degree the Śaṅgam works are relegated to the back-ground. In the literature of the later sixth and seventh centuries a student of Tamil literature lives entirely in a new world, a world quite different from that of the Śaṅgam. The toleration which is the keynote of the Śaṅgam monarchs and peoples has given way to sectarianism. Religious sects, religious debates and religious persecutions become the order of the day. The same transformation is distinctly discernible in the language and the style of compositions of this period.

The period of five centuries commencing with 500 A.D. may be generally characterised as an age of religious revival. But this religious awakening did not stop the progress of literature on arts and letters. On the other hand, one notices a progressive growth in arts and letters. This period was again a flourishing age of art and architecture. Temple architecture was developed to a wonderfully high degree of perfection. The cave temples of the Pallavas which arrest the attention of the antiquarian on his flying visit to Mahābalipuram in the present Chingleput District are a prominent style of architecture of this period. Sculptures of the portrait variety are also a normal feature of this age. We find sculptures of kings and saints engraved on stones in temples. It is legitimate to ask what is this sudden flourish of enthusiasm due to? Historical causes were at work. Since the decline of the Śaṅgam Age set in, the heretical movements of the Jina and Buddha gained in importance and became more and more influential. The leaders of these sects were able to win the sympathy, encouragement and patronage of the reigning chieftains of Toṇḍaimaṇḍilam like the Pallavas, as well as of the other Tamil kingdoms—the Cola, Pāṇḍya and Cera maṇḍilams. It seemed as if the *Vaidika* religion represented by the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava was in danger. This led to a severe form of reaction in the shape of propaganda work by Nāyaṇmārs and Āḻvārs.

All this we see clearly reflected in their writings which go by the name of the Tevāram and Nālāyira Divyaprabandam. We shall now pro-

6 These are Marudam, Kuṟiñji, Neydal, Mullai and Pālai.

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ceed to examine these highly religious works which are regarded by the Tamils as taking a rank next to the Veda. These hymns and songs are all sacred song-hymns which were in all probability sung in temple service even in the time of the Nāyanmārs and Āḻvārs. The evidence is furnished by epigraphy. For example, we find in the inscription of Narasimhavarman I, the Pallava king, the expression *Tiruppadigampāḍi.*[7] One view is that it is a reference to the singing of Tevāram hymns in the temples. Against this it may be argued that these *padigams* may be the compositions of court poets and other great men and these were caused by kings to be sung in the temple-services. Whatever this may be we are on firm ground when we come to the reign of Rājarāja I in whose inscriptions we have explicit references to what we call *mūvarvaṇakkam* celebrating the Tevāram trio. And these continue to be sung to the present day. In fact these saints have been canonised and separate worship and prayer are being offered to their shrines. To cite an example, there is a temple dedicated to Māṇikkavāśagar, otherwise known as Vādavūrar, in Tirupperunturai, the modern Āvaḍaiyārkoil, about twenty miles to the south of Pudukotai town.

Let me now proceed to examine in detail the Tevāram which contains the song-hymns of the Śaiva saints who flourished from the fifth to the twelfth century. The Śaiva devotional literature is designated *Tirumurai* of which as many as twelve are distinguished. This was compiled by one Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi who is said to have flourished in the tenth or more probably eleventh century A.D. Of these *Tirumurais* or collection of song-hymns, the first three are attributed to Sambandar, the next four to Appar and Sundarar and the eighth to Māṇikkavāśagar. It may be noted in passing that Tirukkovai was a later addition to the eighth *Tirumurai.* The *Tiruviśaippa* constitutes the ninth *Tirumurai,* the Tirumantiram of Tirumūlar the tenth *Tirumurai,* and the *Periyapurāṇam* of Śekkiḻār forms the twelfth *Tirumurai.* The eleventh *Tirumurai* consists of songs and hymns sung by many devotees some of whom flourished in the period before the *Tevāram* trio, and others after. There has been a divided opinion as to the period when the divison into the twelve *Tirumurais* or rather into eleven *Tirumurais* was affected. For it does not need a ghost to say that the last *Tirumurai* was added either during the age of Śekkiḻār

7 *SII.,* III, pt. I, p. 93.

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or that succeeding it. It has been held that the division into eleven Tirumurais[8] was made during the reign of Rājarāja I. The concensus of critical opinion is that the compilation into *Tirumurais* was done in the early reign of Rājarāja who came to the throne in about 985 A.D. and who was also known as Śivapādaśekharan. This is a religious designation meaning one who has the feet of Śiva on his crest.' The epigraphist suggests that this king earned the titles of Śri Rājarāja and Śivapādaśekhara in the period between the 18th and 21st year of his reign when he was not occupied with any wars.[9]

The earlier Śaiva saints

In the Śangam Age to advert to what we have already said, there was no nice distinction between religious sects. There was no exclusive Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva sect. The followers of the Vedic religion worshipped both in Śiva and Vaiṣṇava temples like the Smārtas of today. Senguṭṭuvan *Śilappadikāram* is a classic example. But with the march of time, subtle distinctions grew and the sectarian spirit caught hold of the popular imagination. Even the later Āḻvārs and Nāyaṇmārs began to lay stress on the greatness of their chosen deity, Viṣṇu or Śiva as the case might be. This sectarianism became prominent only in the seventh century and after. In the interval between this century and the last epoch of the Śangam period, the religious revival did not take a sectarian turn. The Nāyaṇmārs and Āḻvārs of this period, which can be roughly said to cover the whole of the sixth century and perhaps the latter half of the fifth century, were far from being sectarian in their outlook. Among these saints, posterity remembers only two among the Śaivas-Tirumūlar and Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār,—and three or even four among the Vaiṣṇavas—the first three Āḻvārs and Tirumaḻiśai Āḻvār as we shall see in the sequel. There seem to have been also other saints of both sexes who had been forgotten with the lapse of time.

8 According to Mr. S. Somasundara Desikar (*Śaivasikāmaṇigal Iruvar*, pp. 32 ff.) this compilation may have preceded Rājarāja, and on the strength of the opening stanza of *Tirumuraikaṇḍa purāṇam* wherein the name of the king appears as Rājarāja Abhaya Kulaśekhara. Mr. Desikar is inclined to identify this king with Ādiya Karikāla, whose name seems to be Parakesari Āditya II Pārthivendra Karikāla and who reigned from *c.* 956 to 969 A.D. (See for this date K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Colas*, I, p. 180).

9 *SII.*, vol. II. Intro. pp. 13-14.

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Tirumūlar

This saint is said to have flourished in the sixth century or a little towards the close of the fifth century.[10] I have given a brief sketch of the life of this saint elsewhere.[11] Suffice it to say that his immortal work which comes primarily under the classification of Āgama literature forms the tenth book of *Tirumurai* and is entitled Tirumantiram. The book consists of 3000 verses, and Śekkiḷār, in his inimitable style, says that it is a sweet garland of 3000 verses laid at the feet of the Lord with the crescent on His head.[12]

Each verse is a *mantiram* (Sanskrit *mantra*) which according to the sage is the result of deep concentration of mind (Dhāraṇā). The subject matter treated of is *caryā, kriyā, jñāna* and *yoga*.[13] Tirumūlar believes in one Supreme Being which he designates Śiva and elaborates his theory that God is all bliss, and that love (anbu) is not different from bliss (śivam), but it is itself from another view-point. Or, in other words, love leads to bliss. Speaking on human relationship to this Supreme Being, he sums up the whole philosophy in three words *pati, paśu* and *pāśam*.[14] *Pati* is the Omnipotent One, *paśu* is the evolving life and *pāśam* is the world of bondage. A critical study of his work shows how close a student he was of Yoga philosophy and Āgama śāstras in Sanskrit. He was a yogin of a high and perhaps a rare type. His mysticism was the fruit of his saintliness.

Regarding the subject matter of the Tirumantiram, one has to infer that it could have been completely grasped only by a small minority of even learned people, although the later Tamil literature evidences the acceptance of his fundamental doctrines and even a great respect for him. Many of the high topics he taught were deemed to be fit for only the initiated few. In order to attain *siddhi* one should resort to a proper *guru* whom he should regard as Śiva Himself and get initiated. From Tāyumānavar's reference in his songs to Maunaguru—and Tāyumānavar flourished in the eighteenth century—we come to know that there was a regular line of

10 *Origin and Early History of Śaivism in S. India*, p. 211 by C. V. Narayana Aiyar. There is a view that some later ideas have been fathered upon this Tirumūlar.

11 Dikshitar: *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, pp. 116-119, Second ed., Madras University.

12 *Periyapurāṇam, Tirumūlanāyanār Purāṇam*, St. 27.

13 St. 28.

14 St. 2392.

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disciples from the time of Tirumūlar onwards who apparently practised (though perhaps not very publicly) certain modes of yoga as a means of Ātmic realisation.[15] Possibly, it was this special excellence of Tirumūlar's teaching that had simultaneously the effect of heightening its value and also confining it to a very limited section of the Tamil literature. From Dr. Mohan Singh's account of Gorakhnath (in his *Gorakhnath and Mediaeval Hindu Mysticism,* Lahore, 1937) we can infer that a closely similar mystic yogic practice has been prevalent for several centuries past in North India also.

Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār

Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār was a saint who realised God Śiva and became devoted to Him as Murugammiyār, literally one devoted to Muruga (Subrahmaṇya). She is said to have lived long before Nakkīrar. We have the authority of Yāpparumkalavirutti which cites among others Kāraikkāṛpeyār and Mūlar as examples of sage poets (āriṭakkavi). An āriṭakkavi is defined by the same *virutti* as a Ṛṣi or seer who knows past, present and future, and who possesses power to create and destroy.

Apparently Kāraikkāṛpeyār is a reference to the saintly lady Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār.[16] The following story is told of her.[17] She was born to a certain wealthy merchant by name Danadatta who lived at Karaikkal, now a French sea port town near Negapatam. Her name was Punitavati or Punitavatiyar. From her childhood she was devoted to God Śiva and all her love and affection was bestowed on that God. But when she came of marriageable age her parents got her married to one Paramadattan, a merchant of Negapatam according to the orthodox rites incumbent on the Vaisya caste. Danadatta who had great affection for his daughter assigned special lodgings for her and her husband in Karaikkal itself. Paramadatta lived with his sweet wife in her house for a long time. She was much devoted to him and properly discharged the duties devolved on her as a householder's wife.

15 All stanzas in the section on *Maunaguruvaṇakkam* end thus:
mantra gurave; yoga tantra gurave; mūlan
marabilvaru maunagurave

16 The Tiruvāśagam refers to the lady of Kāraikkāl. VII. 15.

17 I have followed the Periyapurāṇam version of *Kāraikkālammaiyār Purāṇam* ed. by Arumuga Navalar 7th ed. pp. 250–56.

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One day Paramadatta went out and sent two mango fruits to his wife beforehand. While he had not yet returned that day, a Śaiva ascetic called at their place and asked to be fed. Herself a devotee of Śiva, she readily offered to feed the anchorite. She had only rice to offer and no other dishes. So she took one of the mango fruits sent to her by her husband and served it along with rice. The ascetic went away much pleased. Soon after the husband returned home. Finding him hungry and wearied, she served him with food. One dish was the remaining mango fruit. He consumed it and asked for the second as he was not aware of her having fed the sannyāsi, just before he sat for dinner. She could not hide the fact. But she had not the courage to speak out the truth lest she should be misunderstood. She prayed silently to her chosen deity. The prayer was heard and immediately she found a delicious mango in her hand. She ran to serve it to her husband. He relished it much, found it extra sweet, and when asked as to how she got it, she explained it was a divinely sent fruit. Paramadatta was struck by her miraculous powers and left her and the town to the distant Pāṇḍyan kingdom.

There he married another lady and had a child. Punitavatiyār enquired of his whereabouts. When she got to know of the place of his residence she had no hesitation to meet him. But he, his second wife and child prostrated at her feet. She thought that with that form of beauty she was not fit to live in the world. So she prayed to God to transform her into a form of demoness. In the course of her wanderings she reached the outskirts of Kailāsa hills when Śiva called her 'Mother' and she called him in turn 'Father'. She expressed her wish to dwell ever in his presence and under His dancing-feet. Asked to meet him in His dance at Tiruvālankāḍu, she did so. In the course of His dance, the God took her under His foot. The Rev. G. U. Pope observes: 'The poems attributed to Kāraikkāl present the most vivid picture of demon worship with which I am acquainted.[18] Her hymns which are popularly known as *mūtta Tevārām* form a part of the eleventh *Tirumurai*. These were *mūtta Tevāram* because their author was a predecessor of the *Tevāram* trio, or she was the first to sing hymns of the *Tevāram* type. The hymns are classified under three heads: *Tiruvālaṁkāḍu* mūtta *Tiruppadigam*, *Tiru-Irattai maṇimālai* and *Arpuda*

18 Rev. G. U. Pope, *Tiruvāśagam*, p. 113.

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Tiruvantāti. These hymns glorify the greatness of the worshipful God Śiva, and show her devotion to him.

The Early Āḷvārs

Before we go into an examination of the authors of other *Tirumurais*, especially the earlier *Tirumurais*, it will be appropriate to speak of the early Āḷvārs who were more or less contemporaries with the devotees of Śiva above mentioned. According to one account there were only ten Āḷvārs and according to another account there were twelve of them. While Āṇḍāḷ and Madurakavi are left out in the first case, they are included in the second. Āṇḍāḷ is left out because she belonged to the weaker sex and further she aimed at the marriage of the Lord with her. Madura-Kavi is left out because he did not direct his prayers to Hari or Tirumāl just like other Āḷvārs, but he glorified his master Nammāḷvār and was his devout pupil. To him Nammāḷvār himself was God. For these reasons these two, Āṇḍāl and Madurakavi, are not included in the accredited list of Āḷvārs.

The order in which the Āḷvārs are mentioned is different with different authors, some of whom are Tiruvarangattamudanār, Parāśarabhaṭṭar, Piṇpaḷakiya Perumāl Jīyar, Vedānta Deśikar and Maṇavāḷamāmuṇikāḷ. In addition to these there is an order furnished by the *Nālāyirappirabandam*. Just as the *Tirumurai* is a collection of the hymns of Śaiva ācāryas in praise of Śiva, so is also the *Nālāyirappirabandam* which contains the song-hymns in praise of Tirumāl by the devotees of Viṣṇu, who went by the name of Āḷvārs or Vaiṣṇava saints. The division of the hymns is as follows:

Poyhaiyār	100	Kulaśēkharāḷvār	155
Pūtattār	100	Periyāḷvār	473
Pēyāḷvār	100	Āṇḍāḷ	173
Tirumaḷiśai	216	Toṇḍardippoḍi	55
Nammāḷvār	1296	Tiruppānāḷvār	10
Madurakavi	11	Tirumangaiyār	1253
		Tiruvarangattamudanār	108

These form altogether 4000 verses, and hence the name *Nālāyirappirabandam*. Of these, the contributions of Nammāḷvār and Tirumangai Maṇṇaṇ are the largest. The first three Āḷvārs who are generally accepted to be Poyhaiyār, Pūtattār and Peyāḷvār, have, each of them, a hundred hymns. Tirumaḷiśai who was perhaps the younger contemporary of these Āḷvārs has to his credit two hundred and sixteen hymns. With this preliminary we shall now proceed to examine who these were, when they flour-

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ished, and what they sang. Though Poyhaiyār, Pūtattār and Peyāḷvār are generally regarded as the first Āḷvārs, Tirumaḷiśai's name may be added and the first Āḷvārs may be regarded to be four in number. Tirumaḷiśai was probably the connecting link between the first three Āḷvārs and the later Āḷvārs who became more and more sectarian in outlook.

Poyhaiyār

We have already cited the authority of Yāpparumkalaviruttikārar in connection with Tirumūlar to show that in his opinion the Āriṭakkavikaḷ (sage-poet) should have been sages who had the vision of looking into the past, present and future, and who possessed the power of creating and destroying things, and in that connection expresses the traditional view that the Tamil world of his time regarded Poyhaiyār, Kuḍamūkkirbagavar, Pūtattār, Kāraikkārpeyār and Mūlar as sage-poets.[19] If the identification of Kāraikkārpeyār with Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār is valid, she was also a poet and seer. The same is true of early Vaiṣṇava ācāryas like Poyhaiyār and Pūtattār. The Tamil expression *Iruḍi* corresponds to the Vedic seer who *knew* the truth and *saw* it. The rise of Indian philosophy and philosophical schools of thought was due to the fact that the sages who belonged to the post-Vedic times got to *know* the truth but lacked the vision to *see* it. The ceaseless search for the vision to see the truth led to the rise of a number of schools of philosophy. The Viruttikārar perhaps means by the expression *Iruḍi*, one who possessed the knowledge of truth and had the vision also to see it. This is not implausible, for while the early two Śaiva ācāryas were literally *yōgins*, the first Āḷvārs were those who realised the Supreme Being as Nirguṇabrahman and knew at the same time that this Supreme Being in the *Saguṇa* forms is conceivable by devotees, when it manifests itself, to every one of them in the particular form in which he or she chooses to realise it mentally. It may be called Śiva or Viṣṇu. But all the same it is the Impersonal Supreme Being. This is the philosophy that is at the background of the hymns of the first Āḷvārs. If we examine the verses 5, 74 and 98 attributed to Poyhaiyār, we find the Āḷvār making no difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu, attributing the heroic deeds of Viṣṇu to Śiva and of Śiva to Viṣṇu. His is what we may call the *abhedabuddhi*. Besides, his hymns show that he did not preach against the heretical sects of his time like Jainism and Buddhism. Nor did he essay to defend the established religion. He did not feel called upon to

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lay any emphasis on the sectarian aspect. His was a tolerant and catholic faith. He did not make any distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu. To him the Superme Being was both Śiva and Viṣṇu. Thus sectarianism is a later growth in the history of South Indian religion.

Appropriate to the *Yāpparumkalavirutti* which characterises Poyhaiyār as a seer, the legend has it that he was an *ayonija* like his contemporaries Pūtattār and Peyāḷvār. The place of his birth is said to be Kacci (modern Conjeevaram) which formed the capital of Toṇḍaimaṇḍilam then ruled by the Pallavas of Kāñci. Why he came to be known as Poyhaiyār has been engaging the attention of students of history. Tradition narrates that as he took his birth in a lotus-pond, he got that name Poyhai, *poyhai* being the Tamil expression for a pond. Students of history who would not attach much value to the mythical origin of this poet-saint would explain that being born in the township Poyhai he became known as Poyhaiyāṇ. It has been customary in our land to call a certain person after the name of his birth-place. So there is nothing improbable in the theory that the saint, whatever was his original name, came to be known to the outside world as Poyhaiyāṇ, or one who belonged to the town of Poyhai.

In the *Perumtogai* (ed. M. Raghava Aiyangar) we have references to Poyhai in two stanzas 1223 and 2146. In the notes appended, the Poyhai, referred to in both the stanzas 1223 and 2146, is identified with a village bearing that name next to Viriñcipuram in Toṇḍaināḍu. It is in modern (Vellore) Velūr Taluq in North Arcot District. It is probable that this Poyhai in Toṇḍaināḍu was the native place of Saint Poyhaiyār.[20]

Attention has already been drawn to the slender basis of the theory that both the Śangam Poyhaiyār and the Āḷvār Poyhaiyār are one and the same person. The untenability of the theory has been shown in the previous pages, with all deference to the esteemed Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar who was the father of this theory.[20a] His argument that Poyhaiyār was a saint and could not have known court-life or was oblivious of the day to day life can not be taken seriously. It is just possible that sages commingled with the members of the society and yet lived apart from them. The great Śuka, the author of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* is an example in point. But our main difficulty is the distance of time and differences in language and style. His song-hymns which form a part of *Tiruvantāti* are all verses purely in

20 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 90, Ins. No. 63.

20a *Sen. Tamil,* vol. I, p. 6,

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veṇbā metre, and the section containing the *antātis* of these early Āḻvārs is known as the Iyaṛpa of the *Divyappirabandham*. It has been well said that an *antāti* poem is anaphonetic, the last word of a verse being repeated in the beginning of the following verse. The beautiful effect it produces on the reader from the original can be more easily imagined than described. (On *Antātis* and their classifications see Mahāvidvān R. Raghava Aiyangar's articles *Antātis* in *Seṇ Tamil*, vol. V, pp. 273-77).

A story is told in connection with the origin of these *Antātis*. Once Poyhaiyār felt the urge to visit the Lord enshrined in Tirukkovilūr. While yet on his way to the place of destination, evening set in, and Poyhaiyār had to seek shelter in a stranger's house in the neighbouring village. The house had scarcely room to accommodate him conveniently. It was all dark and there was little or no light. Still the householder was hospitable enough to give Poyhaiyār some sleeping accommodation. At that time and to the same house came Pūtattār little knowing that Poyhaiyār was there. Seeing his brother saint there, he requested him to accommodate him also. Poyhaiyār said he was quite willing to share the place reserved for him, though it would mean only sitting accommodation to both of them. To their great surprise Peyāḻvār was soon on the scene and entreated them to give him some accommodation. Now it meant only standing accommodation to all the three. There was not enough space for all of them to sit. When they continued to stand all the night thus, meditating upon the Invisible Being, it was past mid-night. Each of them felt some external pressure brought to bear on their physical frames. Unable to bear it and incapable of discerning it, in the absence of a lamp, each of them sent forth his prayers for light. Poyhaiyār belauded the Sun-God as his lamp and Pūtattār, love as his lamp. The light of these two divine lamps cast off the darkness all round. In that light these saints saw *Tirumāl*, and this resulted in an outburst of songs from the mouth of Peyāḻvār, all in glory of the Lord's greatness. What these three sang at that poor man's shelter became the great *Tiruvantātis*, the boundless treasure of emotional outpourings. The reader of these *Antātis* which extol the heroic exploits of different manifestations of Hari is often led to raptures of joy.

Date

From a *pāśuram* (77 of First Tiruvantāti) where a reference is made to the Lord enshrined at Viṇṇagar in a sitting posture by Poyhaiyār it was sug-

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gested [21] that this Viṇṇagaram referred to Parameśvaraviṇṇagara in Kāñci which was built by Parameśvara Pallava at the commencement of the eighth century, as there was no other place bearing that name, where the Lord was found in a sitting posture. This means the date of Poyhaiyār should be brought down by two centuries. But M. Raghava Aiyangar has ably pointed out that though there was nothing answering to that description in Toṇḍainādu, there were three temples with the Lord enshrined in a sitting posture in the Cōḷa kingdom, and the reference should be to one of these three—Nandipuraviṇṇagaram (Nāthaṇ Kōil), Vaikuṇṭhaviṇṇagaram and Arimeyaviṇṇagaram (*Āḻvārkālanilai*, pp. 41-2). Of these the first seems to have been named after Nandivarman I Paḷḷava, as this place finds mention in the Udiyendram plates relating to war of Nandivarman II. In the light of this, the eighth century theory falls to the ground. If Poyhaiyār has referred to Nandipuraviṇṇagaram, then, we can easily fix him in the second half of the sixth century.

Pūtattār is the next in order of the early Āḻvārs accepted by ancient authorities like the *Divyasūricaritam* and Piṇpaḻakiya Perumāḷ Jīyar and Maṇavāḷamāmunikaḷ. He however heads the list furnished by Parāśara-bhaṭṭa. But orthodox tradition has accorded to this Āḻvār a place next to Poyhaiyār, and it is reasonable to credit this tradition with trustworthiness. Pūtattār is the Tamil form of Sanskrit expression *Bhūta*. It is difficult to explain why this saint was dubbed with this name. There is no traditional account which goes to explain this name hallowed by ages in the Tamil land. The place of his birth is Tirukkaḍaṇ-mallai or simply Kaḍaṇmallai. Kaḍaṇmallai is an ancient town in Toṇḍainādu or Toṇḍaimaṇḍilam. There is a reference to this place in verse 70 of *Tiruvantāti* attributed to this poet-saint.

Māmallai Koḷilmatiṛ Kuḍantai

Another name of Kaḍaṇmallai was Māmallapuram. Its original name seems to be Mallai, and the prefix Kaḍal to it shows that it occupied an important place in ancient times as a seaport town. Much overseas trade was perhaps carried on in this town. That a number of ships called at this port is evident from the *pāśuram* of Tirumangaimaṇṇan[22] In the light of this

21 M. Srinivāsa Aiyar, *Tamil Studies*, pp. 301-2.

22 *Periya Tirumoḷi*, 2. 6. 6.

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pāśuram Mallai came to be regarded Kaḍaṇmallai because of her sea-bourne trade. A second name by which this town was known, as has been already said, is Māmalla-puram. This name has been the cause of some ingenious theories. One is that Narasimha Pallava I had the title Mahāmalla or Māmalla; and this king who flourished from 630 A.D. to 660 A.D. was the cause of founding or rebuilding this town. Consequent to this the town came to be known Māmallapuram. Another theory is that Pūtattār speaks of this in his *Antāti* as Māmallai, and therefore his date should be looked for after the place earned the new name, i.e., after 650 A.D. Though this seems at first sight quite plausible; it does not satisfy the critical test. The name of the town has been always Mallai, and some attributes were given by poets to it according as their fancy led them. While Pūtattār called it Māmallai, Tirumangai spoke of it as Kaḍaṇmallai.[23] And Māmallai means the great or good Mallai. Does not Tirumaḷiśai speak of Mayilai and Allikkeṇi as Māmayilai and Māvallikkeṇi? This is the sense in which Pūtattār uses Māmalla. It has nothing to do with Narasimhan I Pallava. He might have rebuilt it and might have beautified it. He could have improved it in other ways. But to say that the town earned Māmallai after his name is to say the least inconclusive. (For the original name of the town see Fr. Heras: *Studies in Pallava History*—chapter on *Pre-Pallava Existence of Mahābalipuram* and criticism on it by C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar in *QJMS.*, vol. XXVIII, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 159-163).

Though this is not the place to discuss the history of the names of this city, yet we have to refer to it, as scholars have used one of its names to bring down the date of Pūtattār to the latter half of the seventh century, which sets at nought all the traditional accounts centering round this Āḻvār.[24] That the town is certainly not the original foundation of Mahāmalla Narasimha Pallava is also evident from the Śangam work *Śirupāṇāṟṟupaḍai* where it is mentioned as the capital of Toṇḍaimaṇḍilam.

In dealing with the origin of *Tiruvantāti* under the caption Poyhaiyār mention has been made that Pūtattār composed his *Aṇtāti* with Love as his lamp in the poor man's door where the trio, Poyhaiyār, Peyār and himself took shelter on their way to Tirukkovilūr. This evidence alone is sufficient to suggest the contemporaneity of Pūtattār with Poyhaiyār. In the *Āritta-veṇbā* quoted by the *Yāpparumkalavirutti* it is said that that *veṇbā*[25] was the

23 *The History of Sri Vaiṣṇavas*, p. 16.

24 Second Tiruppadikam.

25 P. 352.

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joint production of Pūtattār and Kāraikkār Peyammaiyār. The latter we have sought to identify, with Kārikkār Ammaiyār. Thus it becomes possible that Pūtattār was a contemporary of the celebrated lady saint Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār.

Before we close this sketch on Pūtattār attention should be drawn to the fact of a *veṇbā* quoted by the commentators, both Perāśiriyar and Naccinārkiṇiyar, in their gloss on the *sūtra* 113 of the Tolkāppiyam. At the end of this *veṇbā,* the remark is made meaning that this is the *Āvaiyaṭakku* or the author's conventional statement humbling himself before the assembly of the learned. Though we have here two eminent authorities the distinguished commentators of whom the Tamil world is rightly proud, who refer to a certain Pūtattār, it is difficult to attribute this *veṇbā* or this reference to Pūtattāḷvār. It may or may not be a reference to the Āḷvār in question. There is every probability that it is a reference to some poet who bears the same name. From identical names we cannot jump to any conclusion, and conclusions based on such identity of names may lead us astray. Further we have no evidence to show that Pūtattār has anywhere or at any time had anything to do with *avai* or *avaiyaṭakkam*. For he was not a royal poet. He was more a saint than a poet.

Peyāḷvār

Next comes Peyāḷvār in the accepted order of Āḷvārs. Unfortunately there are little or no details about this great sage whose contribution to the South Indian religious literature was of no mean order. Like his contemporaries Peyāḷvār was on *ayonija*. His birth is hedged with divinity. He is known to us as a sage and seer. He joined the company of Poyhaiyār and Pūtattār in a night on their way to have a *darśan* of Hari at Tirukkovilūr. It has been already mentioned that to keep off the prevailing gloom, Poyhaiyār and Pūtattār sang *Antātis* when Hari manifested Himself before them. On seeing the Lord, Peyāḷvār overflowed in rapturous joy and belauded the worshipful God in an *Antāti* rich with passion that welled up from his devotional heart.

We know that the place of his birth was Mayilai or modern Mylapore which forms today a part of the Madras city. That he was a contemporary of Poyhaiyār and Pūtattār is also evident from the foregoing pages. Hence he is not the Peyanār known to Śangam works. The Peyanār of the Śangam, the author of the Mullaittiṇai of *Aiṅgurunūru*, is quite different

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from Peyāḷvār, and fortunately for us this has found unanimous acceptance among scholars. Before we proceed to examine the life and writings of Tirumaḷiśai Āḷvār it must be pointed out that Peyāḷvār together with his contemporaries Poyhaiyār and Pūtattār, paid a visit to Tirumaḷiśai who was engaged in deep penance at Tiruvallikkeṇi (modern Triplicane, a suburb of Madras city). The extant *Guruparamparais* bear eloquent testimony to this fact of the meeting of the three early Āḷvārs with Tirumaḷiśai. And therefore we have to take it for granted that all the four Āḷvārs were contemporaries, the first three being elder contemporaries.

Tirumaḷiśai Āḷvār

This Āḷvār came to be known after the place of his birth, Tirumaḷiśai in Toṇḍaināḍu. There is a mythical origin attributed to his birth. It is said that he was born; as a *piṇḍa* to the sage Bhārgava, and it was cast off by the parents. But it grew into a beautiful baby and attracted the attention of a member of the fourth caste. When he was brought up, the boy showed signs of a jñānī. His friend and companion was one Kaṇikaṇṇār. From early age he gave himself to Yōga practice and spent the best part of his life at the Triplicane shrine. Here he was met by many among whom were the first three Āḷvārs.

One day a burning desire took hold of him to visit some famous shrines. After a flying visit to the birthplaces of the first three Āḷvārs, he was on his way to Tirukkuḍantai (Kumbakonam, Tanjore District). While he was staying at Kaccittiruvetika, he met an aged lady who was serving him, and he transformed her into a young lady. According to the *Divyasūricaritam* this reached the ears of the old king who sent for Tirumaḷiśai to get himself young. The Āḷvār did not respond. So orders were issued banishing him from the town. When he left the city the Lord enshrined in that place also went with his devotee of devotees. On hearing this the king prayed for the return of the Āḷvār.

After performing such miracles the Āḷvār reached Kumbakonam and became engaged in the practice of *yōga*. The chief works of the Aḍiyār are Nānmukan *Tiruvantāti*, and *Tiruccandaviruttam*. Tradition records that he gave up his life at Kumbakonam itself. Before we proceed to examine his writings, mention may be made of one or two facts which throw considerable light on history.

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Firstly, Tirumaḷiśai was a younger contemporary of the first three Āḷvārs, Poyhaiyār, Pūtattār and Peyār. There is evidence for this fact that he visited the places of their birth. It is to be assumed that these three attained Heaven some time before Tirumaḷiśai.

Secondly, though the *Divyasūricaritam* does not furnish the name of the king reigning at Kāñci who sent for Tirumaḷiśai, still the *Guruparamparais* suggest with an air of plausibility that he was a Pallava king. A certain *Pāśuram* of the *Nānmukan Tiruvantāti* (93) gives indeed a suggestive hint as to the name of the reigning king. In this *Pāśuram* the Āḷvār addresses Tirumāl as Guṇapparan and students of Pallava history know of a Guṇabhara which was another name for Mahendravarman I.[26] That the Pallava monarchs were known by such titles or rather assumed them out of self-complacency is evident from the inscriptions.[27]

Thirdly, if Mahendravarman was then the king ruling from Kāñci at the time of the visit of the Āḷvār, then we get a definite chronology about the Āḷvār's time. For we know from history that Mahendravarman ruled from *c.* 618 to 642 A.D. This means that Tirumaḷiśai flourished during the first half of the seventh century.

Fourthly, if we seek to establish the date of Tirumaḷiśai in the first half of the seventh century though by a single but very valuable testimony, then we shall not be wrong if we assign the first three Āḷvārs to the end of the sixth century A.D. and perhaps to the beginning of the seventh century A.D. They belonged to the reign of Simhaviṣṇu, a Vaiṣṇava by religion. According to inscriptions he is a Paramabhāgavata.[28] This is quite appropriate to Pūtattār's verse beginning with Kaṇmukappe and ending with Manuavarum.

Fifthly, the year 600 A.D. may be roughly stated as the time when sectarianism in matters religious came to spread and stay. In this connection if we examine the *Tiruvantātis* of the first three Āḷvārs together with Nānmukan *Tiruvantāti* of Tirumaḷiśai, we clearly see that the first Āḷvārs were not swayed at all by sectarian considerations. They did not make distinction between Hari and Hara. In fact theirs was a conception of one Supreme Being, call it Hari or Hara. They did not, as has been already pointed out, take notice even of the heretical sects of the Jains and the Buddhists. The new sects which had much in common with the orthodox

26 M. Srinivasa Aiyangar—*Tamil Studies*, pp. 305-6.
27 *SII.*, vol. I. pp. 1-4.
28 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 274.

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Thirdly, if Mahendravarman was then the king ruling from Kāñci at the time of the visit of the Āḷvār, then we get a definite chronology about the Āḷvār's time. For we know from history that Mahendravarman ruled from *c.* 618 to 642 A.D. This means that Tirumaḷiśai flourished during the first half of the seventh century.

Fourthly, if we seek to establish the date of Tirumaḷiśai in the first half of the seventh century though by a single but very valuable testimony, then we shall not be wrong if we assign the first three Āḷvārs to the end of the sixth century A.D. and perhaps to the beginning of the seventh century A.D. They belonged to the reign of Simhaviṣṇu, a Vaiṣṇava by religion. According to inscriptions he is a Paramabhāgavata.[28] This is quite appropriate to Pūtattār's verse beginning with Kaṇmukappe and ending with Manuavarum.

Fifthly, the year 600 A.D. may be roughly stated as the time when sectarianism in matters religious came to spread and stay. In this connection if we examine the *Tiruvantātis* of the first three Āḷvārs together with Nānmukan *Tiruvantāti* of Tirumaḷiśai, we clearly see that the first Āḷvārs were not swayed at all by sectarian considerations. They did not make distinction between Hari and Hara. In fact theirs was a conception of one Supreme Being, call it Hari or Hara. They did not, as has been already pointed out, take notice even of the heretical sects of the Jains and the Buddhists. The new sects which had much in common with the orthodox

26 M. Srinivasa Aiyangar—*Tamil Studies*, pp. 305-6.
27 *SII.*, vol. I. pp. 1-4.
28 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 274.

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ones were tolerated generously as in the later days of the Śangam Age. Or a view may be taken that these first Āḻvārs like the first Nāyanmārs were more intent upon the worship of their beloved Lord than upon maintaining by argument or otherwise, the superiority of their God to the gods cherished by others.

Sixthly, Ṭirumaḻiśai, as has been stated above, represents the link to connect the early Āḻvārs with the later and pronouncedly sectarian ones. Though this Āḻvār is not definitely sectarian in his outlook, he can be said to represent and anticipate the full wave of sectarianism. Does he not burst forth in a *pāśuram*[29] that the Śamaṇas are ignominous, the Bauddhas and the Śaivas small-minded? He wants to make out that the Vaiṣṇava religion is alone the best. If we further proceed to examine *Pāśurams* like 14, 26, and 84, there again we meet with the glorification of Hari and Hari alone at the cost of other sects. A perusal of *Pāśuram* 69 of *Tiruccendaviruttam* will make it more manifest.

In addition to this, we have the testimony of Piṉpaḻakiya Perumāl Jīyar's *Guruparamparai* (p. 10) where it is definitely stated that Tirumaḻiśai examined with a critical eye the Āgama treatises known to the Śākyas, the Śamaṇas and Śankaranār and was not much moved. It is only the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas that brought comfort and solace to his inner spirit. Notwithstanding his intense devotion to the deity of his choice, he cannot be altogether put down as one brimming with sectarian bias and prejudice. The intensity of Tirumaḻiśai's Bhakti is evidenced also by the following tradition. Though, born of a sage, as he was brought up by a member of the fourth caste, he was not admitted into the sacrificial *pandal* in Perumpuliyūr where a certain Vedic sacrifice was being celebrated. Before the priests who treated him with contempt, little knowing that he was a sage and a yogin, he asked his Lord to show His divine form before them in order to make them understand what he was capable of.

It has been sought to identify this Āḻvār of no mean repute with Kuḍamūkkir-bagavar mentioned by the *Yāpparunkalavirutti*, as one among the sages occupying a rank equal to that of Poyhaiyār and Tirumūlar. The *virutti* further informs us that he was the author of a treatise entitled *Vāsudevanārcintam*. It has been made out that *cantam* may have turned out to be *cintam*, and *Vāsudevaṇār cantam* may be the same as *Tiruccandam* or *Tiruccandaviruttam*. Examples have been quoted from the *Tiruccanda-*

29 Nānmukaṇ, 6.

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viruttam to show how they fit in with the remarks made by the *Yāpparunkalavirutti* on the *Vāsudevaṇar cintam,* viz., the verses lack a few letters and they are *āriḍam*. As Kuḍamūkku is Kumbakonam and as our Āḷvār spent the evening of his life there and shuffled off his mortal coil in that very place, it is still more an evidence to identify him with Tirumaḷiśai.[30] If this identification be not accepted, then we have to conclude that there was another sage who went by the name Kuḍamūkkir-bagavan, and whose work was known as *Vāsudevanār cintam,* and that this work is now lost to us.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that tradition credits our Āḷvār with a work on astrology. There is a hint of it in a *pāśuram* of his (*Tiruvantāti,* 63). It is not explicit whether he wrote an astrological treatise. For no such work of his is available. It may be noted in passing that from Periyavāccānpillai's gloss we can infer that there was an old commentary on *Tiruccandaviruttam*. Thus we see that the *Antātis* sung by these four early Āḷvārs form a class apart. As has been said these are classed under *Iyaṛpa*[31] as distinguished from *Iśaittamiḻ*. In language, style and metre *Antāti-veṇbās* maintain the level of excellence generally attributed to treatises on *Śentamiḻ*. Apart from the fact that Pūtattār calls himself Perumtamiḻan, tradition has styled them Perumtamiḻar. Their style marks the last stages of the declining and practically dying Śangam style. The literature they inaugurated bids adieu to the Śangam classics and makes room for the coming in of the rich store-house of religious literature embodied in the *Tevāram* and *Divyappirabandam*. What this literature is and who are its authors we shall examine on another occasion.

V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar

30 *Āḻvārkālanilai,* p. 42 ff.

31 *Iyarpa* is that kind of composition which cannot be set to music or *paṇ*. While the writings of other Āḷvārs can be set to *pāṇ*. and sung as musical pieces, the stanzas which are collected under *Iyarpa* do not admit of being sung as musical pieces. *Iyarpa* is a class of literature that stands apart from the *Iśaippākkal* and *Vāṭakappākkaḷ*.

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The vaṃśas and gotra-pravara lists of Vedic literature

(A study in the beginnings of Indian historiography)

The ceremonies of the Vedic sacrificial ritual, which form the entire subject-matter of the later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, almost necessarily implied a long succession of teachers through whom they were handed down from the most ancient down to comparatively recent times. It is to the period of the Brāhmaṇas which exhibit the first systematic expositions of the sacrificial ceremonies that we can trace back the oldest genealogical lists (Vaṃśas) of Vedic teachers and their pupils. The *Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa* forming a separate branch of the Sāmaveda school has a Vaṃśa consisting of not less than sixty names beginning with a teacher called Vaiśrava and traced back through its last human teacher Kaśyapa to the gods Agni, Indra, Vāyu, Mṛtyu, Prajāpati and Brāhman, the Self-existent One [See the list in H. Zimmer, *Studien zur Geschichte der Gotras*, pp. 31-32. The lists in Max Müller, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Pāṇini Office ed., pp. 233-234, and Weber, *Indische Studien* IV, 371 ff., give fifty-nine names omitting the last name Vaiśrava]. Two separate Vaṃśas are found in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* (III, 40-42 and IV, 16-17) likewise belonging to the Sāmaveda school. One of these has fifty names beginning with Brahman and ending with Vaipaścita Dārḍhajayanti Gupta Lauhiteya, while the other consists of fourteen names only, beginning with Indra and ending with Sudatta Pārāśarya. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, forming the concluding portion of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, has two vaṃśas (*Ibid.*, II, 6 and IV, 6) of fifty-eight and sixty names respectively, which agree with each other in several parts. The list begins with Pautimāṣya and ends with Brahman. [For the two lists in the Kāṇva recension, see Max Müller, tr. of the *Upaniṣads*, Part II, SBE., vol. XV, pp. 118-120, 185-188. For comparison with the parallel versions in the Mādhyandina recension as well as for comparison of the two first-named vaṃśas, see *Ibid.*, pp. 118-120*n* and pp. 186-187*n*]. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, (VI, 5) has another vaṃśa consisting in the Kāṇva recension of two lists, one of fifty-two names and the other of forty-eight only. These lists of which the first thirty-six have all names ending in metronymics agree with each other up to a teacher called Sāṃjīvīputra beyond whom they diverge into separate branches. [For the list in the Kāṇva recension, see Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-227. For comparison with the Mādhyandina version, see *Ibid.*, p. 224*n*. The second list is wanting

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in the Mādhyandina text, but a very similar one is found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* X, 6. 5. 9]. This has been plausibly explained [Max Müller, *op. cit.,* p. 230] on the supposition that Sāṃjīvīputra united two lines of teachers, one of which is traced back through Vāc (the Goddess of speech), Ambhiṇī (the voice of thunder) to Āditya (the sun), while the other is carried back through Prajāpati to Brahman. To illustrate the character of these vaṃśas, it will be sufficient to quote one example, that of the shorter list in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* which we give below in Oertel's translation [*JAOS.*, XVI, 1896] :—

"Verily thus Indra told this udgītha of the Gāyatrīsāman, the Upaniṣad, the immortal, to Agastya, Agastya to Iṣa Śyāvāśvi, Iṣa Śyāvāśvi to Gauṣūkti, Gauṣūkti to Jvālāyana, Jvālāyana to Śāṭyāyani, Śāṭyāyani to Rāma Krātujāteya Vaiyāghrapadya, Rāma Krātujāteya Vaiyāghrapadya to Śaṅkha Bābhravya, Śaṅkha Bābhravya to Dakṣa Kātyāyani Ātreya, Dakṣa Kātyāyani Ātreya to Kaṁsa Vārakya, Kaṁsa-Vārakya to Suyajña Śāṇḍilya, Suyajña Śāṇḍilya to Jayanta Vārakya, Jayanta Vārakya to Sudatta Pārāśarya."

We may next mention a vaṃśa given at the end of the late *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* of the *Ṛg Veda.* [See Appendiv to A. B. Keith, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka,* pp. 327-328, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, Part IX, Oxford 1909]. This consists of eighteen names beginning with Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana and ending with Brahman, the Self-existent One. Lastly, we may refer to the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* of the *Atharva Veda* which opens with a short list of seven teachers beginning with Brahman and ending with Śaunaka Mahāśala. [See SBE., vol. XV, p. 28].

If we have now to judge the historical value of the vaṃśas we must admit at the outset that the highest links in the chain consist of names of deities like Agni, Vāyu, Indra and, last but not the least, Brahman. But the remaining and by far the more considerable portions of these lists consist of human teachers. On general as well as particular grounds the names and succession of human teachers may be accepted as a historical fact. It is now generally admitted that the period of the Brāhmaṇas from the very nature of their subject-matter and the range as well as variety of their literature must have extended over many centuries. [Cf. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature,* vol. I. pp. 194-195:—"We are compelled to assume a period of several centuries for the origin and propagation of this literature. .....The sacrificial science itself requires centuries for its development". Cf. also *Ibid.,* p. 302]. To this must be added the fact that many of the

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names of teachers in the main portions of the lists are actually quoted as authorities in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and similar texts. What is more, some of these personages are evidently singled out as taking an outstanding share in the development of the doctrine. [Cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 29*n.*:— "Die Rolle abschliessender Autorität der genannten Personen für die einzelnen Texte ergibt sich aus der Häufigkeit und Art der Anführung ihrer Meinungen, durch die diese als unwidersprochen und endgültig erscheinen." He justifies his statement by the example of Yājñavalkya who is quoted eighteen times in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as compared with nine quotations of the next frequently cited teacher Āruṇi and who twice figures as the last and the most conclusive of a triad of quoted authorities. He also refers to Śāṭyāyani who is quoted seven times in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* as compared with Baka Dālbhya and Brahmadatta Caikitāneya who come next with two quotations each]. Without therefore going so far as to say with Max Müller [*op. cit.*, p. 229] that "with the exception of the highest links in each chain of teachers the lists have an appearance of authenticity rarely to be met with in Indian compositions", we may state that they certainly reach a high degree of historical probability. It has however not been possible as yet to fit in the long and formidable lists of the vaṃśas into the Vedic chronological scheme.

We may pause here to indicate the importance of the part played by the late Brāhmaṇa schools of the *Sāma Veda* and the *Yajur Veda* in the creation of the vaṃśa lists. In the Brāhmaṇas of the *Ṛg Veda* and the *Atharva Veda*, as in those of the *Sāmaveda* and the *Yajurvedas*, individual teachers are often cited as authorities on various parts of the ritual. [Thus as Zimmer, op. cit., p. 29*n.* points out, Kauṣītaki is cited fourteen times and Paiṅgya nine times in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, while several times *Kauṣītaki* follows *Paiṅgya* in the order of authorities cited. For the references see also Keith, *Ṛg Veda Brāhmaṇas*, HOS., vol XXV, p. 24n]. But neither the *Aitareya* or the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* belonging to the Ṛg Veda school, nor earlier Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda, nor even the earlier portions of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, have preserved vaṃśa lists. It is only in the late Brāhmaṇas of the *Sāmaveda* and later portions of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* that the oldest vaṃśas have as yet been found. Probably the growing scepticism about Vedic sacrificial ritual, of which we have indications in the Brāhmaṇas themselves and which was to culminate in the revolt of Buddhism and Jainism, led the priestly authors of the late Brāhmaṇa texts to justify themselves with the weight of formidable authority going back to the gods.

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[For some evidence about disintegration of the Vedic religion in the Brāhmaṇa period, see Keith, *Ṛg Veda Brāhmaṇas*, pp. 25-26].

In the later Vedic texts of the Gṛhyasūtras the lists of Vedic teachers are brought into relation with the domestic ritual. Among the daily duties binding on the Snātaka (would-be householder) and the Gṛhastha (householder) are included bathing and Vedic study. An essential appendage of these ceremonies or of one or other of them is the *tarpaṇa* rite. [For different views of the relation of *tarpaṇa* to bathing and Veda study, see Oldenberg, SBE., vol. XXIX, pp. 120-121*n*.; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, pp. 668, 695]. The *tarpaṇa* consists in satiating deities, sages and manes with offerings of water. To take one example, *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (III. 4. 1-5) begins with a list of thirty-one deities, Prajāpati, Brahman, the Vedas, the Devas, the sages and so forth, to whom the water should be offered by the householder. Then follows a list of sages consisting in the first instance of a group of twelve names which have been identified with those of seers of various maṇḍalas of the *Ṛgveda*. Then comes a number of sages including teachers of sūtras, bhāṣyas etc. as well as Kahola, Kauṣītaki, Aitareya, Āśvalāyana and so forth who are teachers well-known to the Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka and related works. [For summary of the above list, see Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 690-91]. Similar, but not identical, lists are found in other Gṛhyasūtras and even in one Dharmasūtra. [See *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, IV, 9-10, tr. SBE., vol. XXIX, pp. 121-123; *Śāmbavya Gṛhyasūtra* quoted, Weber, *Indische Studien* XV, 154; *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhyasūtra*, II, 19, 20; *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, III, 9; *Bharadvāja Gṛhyasūtra*, III, 9-11, also *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, II, 5 etc. For discrepancies between these authorities, see Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 692-693].

A great gulf separates these late lists from the vaṃśas of the Brāhmaṇa texts. In the older lists the human teachers were evidently regarded as historical personages whose names and order of succession it was necessary to record correctly as proof of genuineness of the teaching. In the later accounts the teachers have risen to the rank of semi-divine personages to be venerated along with groups of deities and manes. It was therefore no longer necessary, as the above examples testify, to transmit the names in genealogical succession. The lists in fact consist of a jumble of ancient as well as modern teachers from the remote times of the *Ṛg Veda* to the late period of the sūtras. It is characteristic of the looseness of these later accounts that even the teachers' names are needlessly duplicated. [Cf. the duplications Kauṣītaki and Mahākauṣītaki, Paiṅgya and Mahāpaiṅgya,

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Aitareya and Mahaitareya, Audavāhi and Mahaudavāhi—in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya list above referred to].

Next to the vaṃśas and other lists of teachers in the Vedic texts may be mentioned the family genealogies indicated by the terms *'gotra'* and *'pravara'*. These may roughly be translated as 'family' or 'lineage' and as the illustrious ancestor or ancestors who have contributed to the credit of the same. [Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 497, explains the connection between *gotra* and *pravara* as follows:—"*Gotra* is the latest ancestor or one of the latest ancestors of a person by whose name his family has been known for generations, while *pravara* is constituted by the sage or sages who lived in the remotest past, who were most illustrious and who are generally the ancestors of the *gotra* sages or in some cases the remotest ancestor alone."] *Gotra* in its technical sense occurs already in an *Atharva Veda* text (V, 21. 3) where it clearly means 'a group of men connected together by blood'. References to *pravara* under the name *ārṣeya* and to *pravara* sages are found in some texts of the *Ṛg Veda* (*Ibid.*, IX, 97. 51; VIII, 102. 4; I. 45. 3 etc.). [Cited in Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 479, 486-87]. Systematic lists of *gotras* and *pravaras*, however, make their appearance only in the late Śrautasūtras, those handy manuals that were composed in late times for dealing with the great mass of the Śrauta sacrifices. [Such lists are found for example in the *Śrautasūtras* of *Āśvalāyana*, Pt. II, VI, 10-15, Bib. Ind. ed., pp. 875-885; *Baudhāyana*, Bib. Ind. ed., vol. III, pp. 415-467; *Āpastamba*, XXIV, 5-10, Bib. Ind. ed., pp. 268-277. Besides the above, Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 6, quotes the *Śrautasūtra* of *Kātyāyana* and *Ḷaugākṣi*, while Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 483, cites the *Śrautasūtra* of *Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśi* XXI, which gives the same list as the *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* with a few changes]. By way of illustration we quote below from the excellent work of P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 490, the *gotra* and *pravara* divisions of two of the most renowned families, the Bhṛgus and the Āṅgirasas, as given in these ancient authorities:—

"The Bhṛgus are of two sorts, Jāmadagnya and non-Jāmadagnya. The Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus are again two-fold, Vatsas and Bidas (or Vidas), the non-Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus are five-fold, namely Ārṣṭiṣenas, Yāskas, Mitrāyus, Vainyas and Śunakas. Under each of these subdivisions there are many gotras, on the names and numbers of which the Sūtrakāras are not agreed... These divisions of Bhṛgus are given here according to Baudhāyana. Āpastamba has only six of them, as he excludes Bidas from this group. According to Kātyāyana, Bhṛgus have twelve subdivisions.

"The Āṅgirogaṇa has three divisions, Gautamas, Bharadvājas and

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Kevalāṅgirasas; out of whom Gautamas have seven subdivisions, Bharadvājas have four and Kevala-Āṅgirasas have six sub-divisions, and each of these again is subdivided into numerous gotras. This is according to Baudhāyana. Other Sūtrakāras differ as to the sub-divisions....."

The gotras and pravaras were intimately connected with the social and religious system of the Vedic Aryans from an early period. To take a few examples, marriage was forbidden not only within the same gotra but also within the same pravara. As regards inheritance, property of a person dying without issue was vested in his near sagotras. Consecration of the domestic fire was preceded by invocation of one's gotra and pravara ancestors. In the ceremonies of tonsure and investiture with the sacred thread, there were minute differences of detail according to different gotras and pravaras of the boy's family. [For details and references, see Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-204; Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 481-483 and p. 491]. It might therefore be thought that the genuineness of these lists was beyond question. Unfortunately the Śrautasūtras which are our primary sources contradict themselves not only as regards numbers of gotras but also the names, numbers and order of succession within the same gotra. [For a number of striking examples see Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 489-490, 495]. From this it appears that there was no unanimity even as regards the number of original gotras. In the appendix of his work (pp. 1263-1266), Kane, while giving after Baudhāyana a classified list of forty-nine pravara groups and the gotras among which they are distributed, notices some striking divergences in the lists of Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba and Satyāṣāḍha. In his German translation of *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra,* Caland gives (*Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 409-411), as an appendix to the pravarādhyāya, parallel lists of Ṛsi genealogies from Āpastamba and Baudhāyana. When Zimmer, *op./cit.*, pp. 6-7, says with regard to these lists, "Dass sie sich widersprechen oder denselben Namen in mehreren Gruppen bieten, kommt nur vereinzelt vor," we must accept his view with great modifications. Even Puruṣottama, author of the *Pravara-mañjarī* which is the leading authority on the subject in later times, is quite emphatic about the discrepancies. [See Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 483]. It would seem that a very long interval separated the beginnings of the gotra and pravara divisions from their systematic arrangement in the Śrautasūtras. Whatever that may be, we may safely conclude that these old genealogical lists have a substratum of historical reality.

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Amāvāsyā

IN MYTHICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT[1]

Mythical, i.e. essentially symbolical, thinking is never dissociated from the sources of philosophy. The clear-cut line of separation, assumed by historians of philosophy as a working hypothesis for the sake of establishing an absolute beginning, is not applicable with any degree of exactitude even to the early ages of Western speculative thinking. Less than anywhere else can it be applied to early Indian thought, which did not groove itself for many centuries (and eventually did so only in few instances) into the rut of sheer intellectual abstractions, where speculation, severed from the live springs of creative vision, soon starts its dreary circle round itself. Here, it would not be exact even to speak of a period of transition from mythology to philosophy, since the beginning of the latter by no means coincides with a decline of the former, but with its revival in novel forms with unprecedented vigour of vision. On the other hand, the mythical hypostases in time crystallizing into speculative principles by no means become abstract concepts but retain all the symbolic concreteness of their origins and in their implications unceasingly point back to the specific entities which are their prototypes.

In the very midst of a period of ancient Indian thought which, owing to its general characteristic, the synthesis of cosmical and personal elements, may be aptly called mythical, a revolution takes place which carries in its wake a revaluation of all accepted values and actually constitutes a new starting-point, if ever there was one in the history of human thinking. The limit thus marked is however not a watershed between the mythical and the abstract, nor even between utterly distinct complexes of notions, but essentially between two trends of vision. Under the impact of a new-found psychical datum, which powerfully invests and permeates all the pre-existing conceptions, the mythical vision shifts its centre of gravity from the cosmological to the psychological pole; the purport of the older hypostases and categories, as well as their configuration, are fundamentally transformed. They are the same and yet altogether new. Beyond the familiar aspect of their attributes

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and their mutual relations dawn unsuspected horizons of mystic meanings—unlimited withinward horizons. On the canvas of the old myths is projected a new mythology of psychical processes, and at the same time a philosophy, which in the age-long evolutions of its message never sheds that specific colouring of psychological concreteness and cosmical significance.

Besides my extensive essay in a history, on genetic lines, of this multiple current of philosophical thought in ancient India (*Il Mito Psicologico nell'India Antica,* first written in 1929-30, but published only in 1939[2]), I have devoted some short studies to the treatment of items which did not enter into the complex survey, mainly to the history of individual motifs typifying that peculiar continuity between the older period of ancient Indian, but not as yet exclusively Indian, mythical notions and the subsequent era of that characteristic coalescence of myth and speculation which is the earliest stage of specifically Indian philosophy. It is due to the nature of the subject, to the ultimate coherence of these items in the ideological whole, that in such a series of separate studies some extent of overlapping of data cannot be avoided; to save repetitions without curtailing the special context of indispensable references, I have chosen the course of briefly re-stating, as far as required, the points already treated elsewhere.

The subject of the following pages is the unnoticed mythical motif concerning the marriage of a feminine deity called Sūryā. This name evokes in the first place the well-known Sūryāsūkta, which at some period previous to the redaction of the Xth Maṇḍala of the *Ṛg-Veda* was made into a marriage-hymn out of a pre-existing shorter composition describing the marriage of Sūryā. Whom did S. marry according to that text? The stanzas 8 and 14-15 quite unequivocally imply that the Aśvins were her two suitors; this is only one of the numerous passages referring to Sūryā's nuptials with the two Aśvins. By far the greatest number of references to S.'s marriage mention the two Aśvins as her bridegrooms, whom she chose at her svayaṃvara (cf. esp. I, 119, 2 and 5; VI, 63, 5; VIII, 22, 1; I, 116, 17; IV, 43, 2 and 6). All such passages agree in asserting that she chose them both; this strange feature is obviously accounted for by the fact that the myth has its origin in the archaic matriarchal structure of society, to

2 *Memoria d. Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei,* 450 pp., with Index also of current hypostases.

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whose institutions go back the custom of polyandry as well as that of the svayaṃvara. The figure of Sūryā herself is evidently in Ṛgvedic notions an exponent of the last-mentioned custom, for in I, 167, 5 she is referred to as the prototype of the woman marrying by svayaṃvara: it is said that Rodasī acted "like Sūryā".

With their swift three-wheeled car the Aśvins won the race of the gods competing for Sūryā's hand (VI, 63, 5) and she mounted on their car. But the Sūryāsūkta tells us in this same connexion that one of their wheels disappeared when they approached Sūryā (X, 85, 15), and implies that they stood at a particular point of space when they obtained her. What were the three wheels of the Aśvins' car? The twin gods are most frequently said to come at early dawn, but this is not the only time of their coming: the express statement repeatedly occurs that they are invoked both in the morning and in the evening (VIII, 22, 14; X, 39, 1; 40, 4). Once it is said that they come also at noon (V, 76, 3). It remains undecided what specific natural phenomenon they were supposed to represent, but their connexion with the transition between light and darkness is certain. They may thus have been meant to represent the morning and the evening star—as they are said to have been born separately (*nānā jātau*, V, 73, 4)—or simply the two moments of transition between day and night. Their path is red or golden (*rudravartanī*, *hiraṇyavartanī*)—it is dawn and sunset. Their car runs also by day and by night—since it is said to move round the whole of the sky (I, 180, 10), to cover the whole expanse of heaven in its course (IV, 43, 5), to compass heaven and earth in one day (III, 58, 8); but at those times it is not seen. In its nightly course it separates the extreme points of heaven (the limit of the west from that of the east), and at that time Sūryā enfolds the Aśvins' brightness (VII, 69, 3 and 4). The other, more obvious, moment of their marriage with Sūryā is when they cross the path of the sun at the zenith: this was when S. mounted on their car, and when the third, the middle or noontide wheel of that car disappeared, according to the 15th st. of the Sūryāsūkta, or was promptly arrested, according to the 3rd st. of the hymn V, 73: "one beautiful wheel you promptly arrested for the sake of the beauty (of S.), whereas round the other...spheres you fly powerfully". The 5th st. of the same hymn explains that, when Sūryā mounted on their ever swift-running car, they were encompassed by the flaming rays of the sun's glow. The wheel of the Sun, of the flaming Sūryā, absorbed the wheel of the

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Aśvins, made it disappear in its rays. So these nuptials are represented as an absorption of the husbands in the wife: this again seems to point to the notions of a matriarchal society, where the husband was socially absorbed by the wife.

Already this introductory evidence leaves little margin for doubt that the maiden Sūryā was originally a personification of the sun. But in a number of passages, including some stanzas of the Sūryāsūkta, she is introduced as the daughter of the sun-god Sūrya. It appears however that such was not her original relation to Sūrya, the youngest of the Ādityas. A contemporary scholar[3] has pointed out the fact that Aditi is closely connected with the Aśvins as the sole deity sharing their attribute, the *madhukaśā*, and that in this context she is the correlative of the archaic Mother Goddess probably represented on a seal of Mohenjo Daro with her two theriomorphous acolytes, and occurring also in other archaic mythological representations of the Indo-Aegean zone, a.o. as Helena with the Dioskouroi, the correlatives of the Aśvinau. The feminine *Sūrā* does not occur in the *ṚV.* along with *Sūra*, the rarely used synonym of *Sūrya*, but it occurs in the *Avesta* as one of the names of the goddess Ardvī-Sūrā-Anāhitā; and if the etymological equation Anāhitā = Aditi[4] is right, it completes the evidence of the identity of the ancient female light-goddess Sūrā or Sūryā with Aditi. If Aditi and Sūryā were equivalent personifications of the ancient Mother Goddess, then Sūryā could have been originally in any case only the mother of the sun-god. But Sūrya is a late-comer amongst the Ādityas: he, the eighth and last-born son of Aditi, the Mārtāṇḍa, was not even at once admitted amongst the gods, but was cast away by his mother (according to X, 72, 8-9). Thus it seems that the sun-*god* was introduced only at a comparatively later period of ancient Vedic mythology.

When the god Sūrya was introduced as the paramount personification of the sun, Sūryā was relegated to the background; but she could not be suppressed altogether, as her image was too deeply rooted in ancient mythological conceptions. Some relation or other had to be established between the two, and so she was made into Sūrya's daughter. One portion at least, the less prominent portion of her previous character, was left to her.

3 J. Przyluski, 'Les Aśvin et la Grande Déesse', *Harvard Journal of Oriental Studies*, April 1936, pp. 129ff.

4 Przyluski, 'The Great Goddess in India and Iran', *IHQ.*, September 1934, p. 413f.

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According to Ṛgvedic beliefs, the sunlight travels during the night in the yonder, hidden sphere of the hypercosmic ocean towards east, and from there appears again in the *pārthivaṃ rajas*. In yonder *uttamam* or *paramaṃ rajas* light is that which to us is darkness. "On the black path (on the path of night) the black birds (the sun-rays which are now dark) fly up to heaven: they had come hither from the seat of *ṛta*", says the 47th st. of the famous Vāc-hymn I, 164. A notion preserved in the 16th st. of the Sūryāsūkta shows that the sun-goddess Sūryā was once held to have two wheels moving alternatingly, one of which is hidden and known only to the wise. It is obviously the sun's course at night. When the figure of Sūryā was superseded by the masculine personification of the visible phenomenon of the sun, the portion left to her seems to have been that invisible portion of the sun's course at night. The st. I, 115, 5 says: "other is *his* (Sūrya's) infinite shining light, other the dark one which the (sun-) steeds draw"; it is no longer the light of Sūryā: to him belongs only the sunlight which rises for us, as another st. confirms (X, 37, 3cd)—*prācīnam a n y a d anu vartate raja ud a n y e n a jyotiṣā yāsi sūrya!*

The fact of Sūryā being the nocturnal, hypercosmic, sun explains the conception underlying the amāvāsyā myth, the myth of the nuptials between the Sun and the Moon, which is the central item of the Sūryāsūkta.

Vedic authors appear to have had quite definite ideas about the fact that the light of the moon is derived from the sun (see IX, 71, 9b *adhi tviṣīr adhita sūryasya*, where the context shows that it is the moon that is meant; also V, 47, 3b and cf. this with IX, 71, 2c), and ascribed originally the waning of the moon to her being absorbed again by the sun (X, 138, 4c *māseva sūryo vasu puryam ā dade*, and X, 55, 5); this was before the identification with the soma-juice afforded the explanation that the moon is being drunk up by the gods. But this second explanation did not eliminate the first: both in the later *ṚV.* and in post-Vedic literature they exist side by side. In the moonless night the moon is completely swallowed up by the sun. Obviously not by the diurnal sun, but by the nocturnal. The hymn X, 55 speaks first of the sun hidden away in the distant region (that is to say in the hypercosmic *rajas*) whose pre-existent light Indra caused to rise for our cosmos (cf. X, 171, 4 *tvaṃ tyam indra sūryam paścā santam puraskṛdhi*)—and then, in st. 5, it speaks of the swallowing of the moon by the sun: *vidhum dadrāṇaṃ samane bahūnām yuvānaṃ santam palito jagāra /devasya paśya kāvyaṃ mahitvādya mamāra sa hyaḥ samāna*). The

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hymn I, 144 contains an early reference to the amāvāsyā notion, in st. 4: *...dvā savayasā...samāne yonā mithunā samokasā/divā na naktam palito yuvājani purū carann ajaro manuṣā yugā.* This notion of the moon's nuptials with the sun underlies the myth of Soma's nuptials with Sūryā as related in the Sūryāsūkta; the verse (X, 85, 18) describing sun and moon as a couple, in notable parallelism to I, 144, 4, occurs in the sequel of the stanza concerning Sūryā's hidden wheel.[5]

The stanzas 14-15 of the Sūryāsūkta represent the older nucleus of the Sūryā-Aśvinau myth, on which the Sūryā-Soma myth, occupying the greater portion of the original hymn, has been superimposed. The novelty of its conception at the time of the composition of the hymn is still obvious in the polemical turn of the 9th st., stressing with unexpected emphasis that it was Soma who sought the bride, while the Aśvins were only the groomsmen (and therewith changing the quite unequivocal meaning of the term *vara,* as recurrent in st. 14 in connexion with the inf. *vareyam* of st. 15). Our hymn represents also the first definite evidence of the identification of Soma with the moon, which was apparently a novelty as well, being described as a secret known only to the Brāhmaṇas. This might provide an element for the dating of the Amāvāsyā myth, but it is certainly not its prior age-limit. In fact, before appearing under the name of Soma, the Moon as the suitor of Sūryā appears under the name of Pūṣan. The 4th st. of the hymn VI, 58 says that Pūṣan of glorious brilliance, being impelled by love, was given by the gods to Sūryā—and the context makes it clear that the idea referred to is that of amāvāsyā, the nuptials of the Moon with the Sun: in fact the 1st st. says of Pūṣan *śukraṃ te anyad yajataṃ te anyad viṣurūpe ahanī* "one of thy two contrasting days is bright, the other is venerable" (namely the day of amāvāsyā, when he is honoured as the spouse of the sun); and the 2nd st. incidentally explains why he is particularly honoured on that day: *bhuvane viśve arpitaḥ,* because he has penetrated into the whole of nature (this whole of nature being obviously represented by

5 An evidence that the author of the stanzas on Sūryā's and Soma's marriage actually had in his mind the concrete idea of an amāvāsyā night is the location of the bridal procession at the two nakṣatras *arjuni,* which is that called in *AV.* XIV, 1, 13 and in *Śat. Br.* II, 1, 11, 2 *phālguni,* and *aghās,* which is the constellation usually called *maghā:* according to the ancient work *Sūrapaṇṇatti* (cf *Ind. Studien,* X, p. 292), both together define the *praṣṭhapadī* amāvāsyā.

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the Mother Goddess Sūryā). The name Pūṣan occurs also in the Sūryā-sūkta, concurrently with the name Soma, and in one of the later stanzas, relating to the marriage-ceremony, Pūṣan is named as the prototype of the bridegroom. But, curiously enough, he is mentioned also in one of the stanzas of the oldest nucleus (14), where the bridegrooms of Sūryā are the Aśvins: all the gods applauded the marriage of Sūryā to the Aśvins, and Pūṣan as the son chose them to be his fathers. So according to this older version of the myth Sūryā is not the bride but the mother of Pūṣan; and this explains the singular turn of thought in the 5th st. of the hymn VI, 55 where Pūṣan is said to be the wooer of his mother. It is obviously a synthesis resulting from the superimposition of the younger notion, that Pūṣan as the Moon marries Sūryā, on the pair of older notions that the Aśvins marry her and that the light of the moon is born from the sun. (As the Sūryāsūkta contains both the versions of the myth of Sūryā's marriage, it apparently conciliates them by assuming that the two events belong to successive ages—a mythical rendering of the fact that the relevant conceptions were evolved in successive periods).

The Sūryāsūkta already explains the progressive waning of the moon by the idea that its substance, Soma, is eaten by the gods; nevertheless, the total disappearance of the moon is obviously understood here in the sense of the amāvāsyā myth, which is at the centre of the actual hymn, and which is explained in the other relevant passages as the absorption of the Moon in the Sun. One of these contexts, as we have seen, voices the idea that on the amāvāsyā night the moon is absorbed in the totality of Being—and here we already see the outset of philosophical speculation in close contiguity with the myth—and with a very archaic myth at that, since its underlying conception of the husband being given to, and absorbed in the wife goes back to a period familiar with matriarchal institutions. In the contiguity of these two ideologies their connexion is easily detected: Sūryā, the ancient Mother Goddess, is already implicitly conceived as the all-deity, as the personification of universal being. The same fact is amply observable with regard to the other personifications of the Mother Goddess: with regard to Aditi who, especially in the AV., is celebrated as the all of nature and of being, past, present, and future; and even more so with regard to Virāj, the personification of the heavenly hypercosmic ocean, identified with Vāc, the divine *logos*, one quarter of whom was uttered and dispersed into the whole of creation, while the remaining three quarters

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abide in the original supernal sphere. From the 6th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th and 12th stanzas of the Sūryāsūkta it can be clearly seen that Sūryā, too, is identified with Vāc: "The bride was she who is uttered by the singers, she who is connected with *narāśaṃsa,* Sūryā's beautiful garment was prepared by song", "Thought was her pillow", "Manas was her carriage" whose bulls were "harnessed by Ṛc and Sāman", whose "wheels were hearing", while "*vyāna* was fixed as axle" in that "car made of manas".

The fact that Sūryā, from whom derives the song-inspiring essence of soma—of Soma who is *vāco jantus* (IX, 67, 13) but also *patir vācas* (IX, 26, 4; or *vacas pati* IX, 101, 5)—the fact that Sūryā is identified with Vāc, explains her connection with the Gandharva, who in a late stanza of the Sūryāsūkta is introduced as Sūryā's husband in the second place after Soma. The Brāhmaṇa-legend of Soma, the Gandharvas and Vāc is well known: the Soma was bought from the Gandharva at the price of the goddess Vāc (*Ait. Br.*, I, 27; *Taitt. Saṃh.*, VI, 1, 6, 5; *Maitr. Saṃh.*, III, 7, 3). Less known is its earlier, Ṛgvedic, background, where the Gandharva is as yet only one. I have treated in detail this subject elsewhere, and may therefore limit myself here to a summary exposition. The original, primordial abode of the Gandharva is the hypercosmic sphere beyond the vault of the sky (X, 123, 7)—the supernal ocean that, as we have seen, is Virāj, identified with Vāc. Therefore he is said to be the knower of the immortal *nāmāni* (the mortal nāmāni being the noumenic essences of the manifold creation). In his connection with the supernal ocean he is also conceived as the guardian of the seat of Soma: he has been vanquished by Indra who has rent open his body (here the Gandharva's parallelism with Vṛtra becomes apparent) and thus made the sun-light appear. This ideology is bound up with the other, noted above (p. 30), concerning Indra's feat of bringing to the nether world the light of the sun, which was primarily hidden in the hypercosmic sphere. Thus we see that the Gandharva is connected with the primordial nocturnal Sun. The vanquished G. has been brought down in the streams of soma, and now inhabits the lower sphere of the earthly rajas, where he has the function of producing life, more particularly human life: thus "the Gandharva utters Vāc in the womb of the mother", that is to say, produces the *nāman* of the being which is to be born. According to the *AV.* (V, 1, 2), this "creator who had seen the unuttered Vāc" (namely the hypercosmic Vāc) has been the first to enter a mother's womb.

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The later popular conception of the Gandharva as bearer of the individual life-essence is in the same line. Nor yet is the half mythical, half philosophical conception of the Gandharva aspiring to the maiden Sūryā as towards the essence of Immortality confined to Vedic literature. Suffice it to recall in this context the poetical scene of the *Sakkapañhasuttanta,* where the Gandhabba Pañcaśikha accompanies with his love-song the Bodhisattva's meditation leading to bodhi:

Sakkaputto vā jhānena ekodi nipako sato
amataṃ muni jigiṃsāno tam ahaṃ Suriyavaccase/
yathā pi muni nandeyya patvā sambodhim uttamam
evaṃ nandeyya kalyānī missībhāvaṃ gato tayā// (*DN.* II, p. 267).

The Sun-maiden is still treated as the symbol of the amṛta, of the uttama sambodhi[6]. Pañcaśikha is said to be the visible appearance of god Brahmā (*DN.* II, p. 211)—and it is Brahmā who after the bodhi persuades the Buddha to "open the gates of the Immortal", to preach the saving doctrine. Pañcaśikha's song symbolically expresses the yearning of the nether life to return to the supernal sphere of the Immortal.

(The underlying ideology persists in Mahāyānic thought; it is voiced—to quote one of many instances—in the stanza IX, 46 of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra,* describing the final enlightenment as *maithunasya parāvṛtti,* "the Return (to the sphere of Nirvāṇa) of the nuptials", being "the attainment of the supernal omnipresence in the state of beautitude of the Buddhas, in the pure vision of the Bride", i.e., of the transcendent Tathatā, Prajñā or Bodhi, Mother of the Bodhisattvas (II, 5), and spouse of the Buddhas. The Gandharva Pañcāśikha is now the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who enunciates the teaching of the path towards Bodhi.[7])

The Ṛgvedic Gandharva was primarily wedded to the hypercosmic Sūryā—the original, immortal abode of soma—, and the wedding of King Soma, who was derived from the Gandharva, to Sūryā—in other words the return of the moon to the hypercosmic sphere of the nocturnal sun—is the

6 This symbolical motif seems to have been very popular in Buddhist circles, as may be gathered from the figurations on the bas-reliefs of the Buddhist cave-temples at Aurangabad (note the recurrent representations of the female personage with the archaic characteristics of the Mother Goddess (hair attired in the likeness of the leafy branches of a tree; pair of acolytes; sun-disc, very clearly visible in one representation).

7 Cf. *Il Mito Psicologico,* pp. 279f., 340f.

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happy ending of the Gandharva's drama, so tragically started. Soma's dying is not a death, for he is actually re-born through his union with Sūryā. This implicit idea may be taken as a foreshadowing of the myth which underlies the legend of Satyavat and Sāvitrī. Sāvitrī marries Satyavat by svayaṃvara—that is to say, "like Sūryā", as the aforementioned *ṚV.* hymn says of Rodasī—, although she knows that his early death is decreed by divine law. But she has the power of bringing him to life again, she reconquers him from the grasp of Death who has never given up any other mortal, for she prevails over Yama by the divine power of truthful Speech, by the satyavākya. This is a legendary rendering of the fact that in the underlying myth Sāvitrī—or Gāyatrī—is herself divine Speech, Vāc. Her power is the essence of satya. Now the Vth Adhyāya (14th Br.) of the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* teaches us that Gāyatrī's own abode is her *turīyaṃ darśatam padam,* namely, that sun which shines beyond the world (that is, above that rajas which is the place of Sūrya-Āditya): *parorajā ya eṣa tapati.* And our text goes on to say that this is the sphere of satya.

Soma is satyavat, because his essence consists of the supernal satya-essence of Sūryā. When he wanes by divine law he cannot really die, for his spouse brings him to life again while he rests in her lap, as the Epic legend beautifully and significantly narrates. The archaic outline of the myth connecting soma with Sāvitrī-Gāyatrī is still preserved in an incidental reference of the *Śat. Br.* (where of course the context uses it for quite extraneous exegetical purposes): it is Gāyatrī who carries off the soma (cf. III, 9, 4, 10).

That myth is undoubtedly very ancient, as its kinship with several other myths relating to the Mother Goddess in the vast Indo-Aegean area of religions is apparent, a.o. with that of Isis who brings back to life the dead Osiris in the form of Horos.

At the stage of thought where this myth originates Vāc-Sāvitrī is still the Goddess of universal life, and also the personification of the hypercosmic nocturnal Sun. But at this stage, dated by the earliest Upaniṣads, she is even more: in the *Chāndogyop.* (III, 12, 5ff.) she is presented as the universal brahman equated with the female aspect of the Universal Puruṣa, whose one quarter, according to the st. of the Puruṣasūkta quoted in this connexion, are all the mortal beings, while his three quarters are immortal in the supernal sphere. This sphere of the brahman is the *ākāśa* equated with the *hṛdākāśa,* and this is the Sratic Fullness (*pūrṇam apravarti*).

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According to a previous passage of this text (III, 5) the Brahman is the flower of the Sunrays upwardbound, that is, of the nocturnal sun. Its essence is the quintessence of the amṛta (*pañcamam amṛtam* or *amṛtānām amṛtāni*). By virtue of this amṛta the sun, at the end of its north-south cycle or age, will finally rise only in the upward direction (that is during the earthly night), and henceforth neither rise nor set any longer but remain static. The "śloka" quoted in this connexion implies that this final issue is *satya*, the *brahman*. The meaning is evidently that in this final nocturnal rise of the sun the nether reality of Gāyatrī, her one quarter, the manifold world, will be reintegrated in the hypercosmic static whole, the *pūrṇam apravarti*.

We see how philosophical thinking has taken possession of the ancient mythical figure of the Sun-goddess; we shall shortly see, in similar contexts, how it takes possession of the myth of her marriage, of the amāvāsyā myth.

A hymn of the IXth Maṇḍala (113), which already identifies Soma with the Moon, calling him the husband of the skyey regions, says that Soma was generated *ṛtavākena satyena śraddhayā tapasā* (2), that he was brought by the Daughter of the Sun, that he was received by the Gandharvas who put in him *rasa* (meaning probably the liquid soma) (3). The expression *ṛtavākena satyena* is reminiscent of the Sāvitrī-myth, and corroborates the evidence that Sāvitrī is Sūryā. But the expression *śraddhayā tapasā* vividly recalls the wording of the Upaniṣadic doctrine of *pitṛyāna* and *devayāna: te ya evam etad vidur ye cāmī araṇye śraddhāṃ satyam upāsate* (*Bṛh. Ār. U.*, VI, 2, 15); *tad ya itthaṃ vidur ye ceme 'rāṇye śraddhā tapa ity upāsate* (*Ch. U.*, V, 10, 9, secondary version) and (*Muṇḍ. U.*, I, 2, 11) *tapaḥśraddhe ye hy upavasanty araṇye...sūrya-dvareṇa te virajāḥ prayānti yatrāmṛtaḥ puruṣo hy avyayātmā*. The posthumous way of these leads to the sun and to Brahmaloka, the supreme hypercosmic sphere; whereas those whose life is centred in ritual acts rise only as far as the moon, to make up the moon's life-essence, which is eaten by the gods. Hence they come back to earth through the rain[8].

8 The two yānas are marked respectively by the two *pakṣas* of the moon cycle: the devayāna by the pakṣa of her waxing, which is determined by the influx of, and connexion with the hypercosmic light, the pitṛyāna by her waning, determined by the descent of the light-essence into the nether life. The corresponding "northward" and "southward" periods of the solar year are figured in this context in analogy to the old conception of the "upward" way of the sunlight (from the

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This shows that *śraddhā,* inasmuch as she is the mystic śraddhā of Upaniṣadic wisdom, conditions the union with the hypercosmic Sūryā. Already the Ṛgvedic passage implies that Śraddhā is Sūryā, and a passage of the *Śat. Br.* confirms it: Śraddhā is the Daughter of the Sun (XII, 7, 3, 1). In the Upaniṣads she has become the soteric entity, who delivers from Saṃsāra inasmuch as she is the secret wisdom of the Upaniṣad (note that the *Ch. U.* says, in the Ist Adhy., *śraddhayā upaniṣadā*). As Sāvitrī she delivers from death[9], and the same she does as Śraddhā, according to the Upaniṣadic version of the Naciketas legend, which also narrates the mystery of the descent to the realm of death and the miracle of the return to life after the yogic attainment of the supreme Upaniṣadic wisdom, which is death and birth simultaneously, *yogo hi prabhavāpyayau.* Inspired by śraddhā, Naciketas despises the posthumous worlds which can be won by ritual work, and by his steadfastness wrenches from Mṛtyu the secret of the *mahān sāṃparāya,* of the realm of the transcendent ātman, of the

nether sphere of the day to the yonder sphere of the night) and the converse "downward" way (from night to day).

Thus both the yānas lead through the moon, but with different orientations. The pitṛyāna follows the moon's nether cyclic destiny, whereas the devayāna mystically overcomes it by the definitive upward impulse of the Upaniṣadic wisdom. Thus the *Kauṣitaki.U.* (I) states that the moon is the door to the heavenly world, and explains this function as follows: he who is able to give the right answer to the moon's questions is allowed to pass, while he who is ignorant of the mystery implied in the two questions is sent down through the rain to any form of nether existence. The secret wisdom consists in the awareness that the ultimate origin of both the moon's and the man's life is the infinite hypercosmic Light (*vicakṣaṇa, bhā, amitabhā*) which was brought down to earth through the "paternal essence" of the moon which is generated in the 15 (kalās of the waxing pakṣa): as such, i.e. as offspring and likeness of the moon, man is born and re-born by the agency of the twelve-fold or thirteen-fold lunar year. The initiated one however knows not only the way of his original descent, but also the opposite way of the final return (*saṃ tad vide prati tad vide 'ham*); by the force of this *satyaṃ tapas* (i.e. by the *tapas=śraddhā=satya* mentioned in the three texts on the yānas) the moon is urged to direct him upwards, to the sphere of the Immortal, on the path of the moon's own secret immortality—since the initiated, who is aware of his supernal origin, has now established his identity with the moon (*tvam asmīti*) also in her immortal aspect.

9 As Śraddhā she is also the giver of immortality according to the Brāhmaṇa doctrine. Here she is identified with Iḷā, who is also=Vāc. Already in the *ṚV.* Pūṣan is called *iḍás pátis;* in the Paurāṇic mythology Iḍā. the Daughter of the Sun, marries Budha, the Son of the Moon.

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universal hypercosmic light which shines beyond the sun and all the other lights of the world. Naciketas, "he who did not shine" or "appear"[10], dwelt three nights with death and came back at the end of that time with the possession of true immortality through mystic union—like the moon, which does not shine or appear for three nights from amāvāsyā, but during that time wins 'his' secret immortality through 'his' union with Sūryā—or Śraddhā.[11]

The Upaniṣadic pañcāgnividyā teaches that Śraddhā is the essence of the oblation in the yonder world, whence is born King Soma, who after four transformations appears in the form of the human individual. When this individual dies, out of the cremation-fire he is born in a light-shape (*puruṣo bhāsvaravarṇaḥ*). If in life he has chosen Śraddhā-satya as his lot, then he follows the devayāna to final immortality; he returns to his transcendent fountainhead, to Śraddhā as the hypercosmic Vāc.

Vāc, the All-Goddess, as the saving deity—Vāc, divine wisdom, who transports her lover, the knower of the transcendent mysteries (as such he is often called Vena, with an ancient epithet of the Gandharva), to her hypercosmic abode where he becomes the All-Puruṣa in the indissoluble unity with her: I have repeatedly shown that this conception is familiar to, and amply elaborated in, the later portion of the *ṚV.*, as well as in the *AV.* Sūryā-Śraddhā-Vidyā is another personification of this mystic deity. But of all its names—Aditi, Vāc, Virāj, Śraddhā, etc., Sūryā is the only one which no longer appears in these highly speculative contexts. One of the *leitmotivs* of this new psychological mythology accounts for the significant omission. In fact the vision of this female deity now centres no longer in the values of the manifold life of which she is the fountainhead, but in the transcendent unity of this fountainhead itself, whose true realm is beyond the cosmos and whose reality, ever contrasting with the cosmic becoming, can be actualized in the inmost depths of the human heart when all its differentiated experience is eliminated, when its faculty of cognition is expanded and superlated so as to embrace the whole of being in the unity of all-consciousness. This transfiguration, brought about in the human

10 *ciketa* as perf. of *cit*, "shine", "appear", occurs repeatedly in the *ṚV.*

11 According to the Brāhmaṇa-legend the Soma brought by Suparṇi-Vāk through Gāyatrī was stolen by *sāmi*-Gandharva Viśvāvasu—*sa tisro rātrīr upahṛto 'vasat* (*M.Saṃh.* III, 7, 3).

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mind by the soteric power of Vāc-Virāj, divine consciousness—and fulfilled in the psychic exercise already called *yoga* (in fact represented by the oldest, Vedic, form of Yoga, as I have repeatedly shown)—this psychic transfiguration is at the same time a cosmic elevation, an ascension beyond the nether world to the hypercosmic sphere of the unuttered, "total" Vāc, a reintegration of being into its totality, a re-absorption into the transcendent fountainhead. This mystic reality is now being constantly and emphatically contrasted with the solar realm of multiplicity in cosmic manifestation and psychic experience—the sun is now evaluated as the antagonist of this unique object of the new aspiration. It is the solar connotation of the name of Sūryā that stands in the way of its sharing the new career of the divine hypostasis which it designated. But the continuity is nevertheless maintained. In fact, the conception of the hypercosmic abode of the all-deity which, as the relevant texts insistently state, is revealed when the cosmic light of the sun has set—this conception is obviously the direct, though now mystically speculative, continuation of the ancient mythical conception of the hypercosmic abode of Sūryā as the nocturnal sun. Moreover, the omission of the name Sūryā is largely offset by the vogue of its equivalents—not only *Virāj,* "the Radiant", but also and more particularly *Rocanā,* which appears in one of the earliest Vedic yoga-texts, the 189th hymn of the Xth Maṇḍala. When the Sun-bull has stepped forth, when he illumines the sky, Rocanā moves in the depths of the human being, where she recedes by the same breath by which he proceeds forth. But she, *Vāc,* radiates her light in the thirty (hypercosmic spheres) (*triṃśad dhāma vi rājati vāk:* this is a particular evidence of the identity of Rocanā, Virāj and Vāc), so that it is day a long time before morning (obviously in the hypercosmic spheres illumined by Rocanā's light which for our world is darkness).

We have seen that the dark portion of the moon, his invisible amāvāsyā portion, was held forth in the Ṛgvedic conception as the venerable one in opposition and in preference to the moon's luminous aspect, which is mortal. This dark aspect, which persists alone when the bright aspect has waned, is the warrant of Soma's immortality in 'his' apparently mortal life. We have also noted that the final version of this myth relating to the moon resulted from a synthesis of the idea that 'he' is being consumed by the gods and the conception that 'he' is being reabsorbed by the sun, to the effect that 'his' bright phase are the food of the gods, while the amāvāsyā portion

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is the spouse of Sūryā or the All-life. Hence, the doctrine of the sixteen parts of the moon, which is speculatively elaborated in the *Bṛh. Ār. U.*, (I, 5, 13-14) through the identification of the Moon with prāṇa-Prajāpati. "His fifteen kalās become apparent in the fifteen nights through which the Moon alternately waxes and wanes, but the permanent (*dhruvā*) kalā is the sixteenth; in the amāvāsyā night he penetrates with this sixteenth portion of his into the all of life; therefore in that night no life should be killed, out of reverence for this deity"—namely for that particularly venerable aspect of the Moon which is life in its divine, immortal form, as we already know from the Ṛgvedic passage. But in the Upaniṣadic context the old mythical ideology, now referred to the principle of human existence, is translated to a highly speculative purport: in the man who is initiated to mystic wisdom the unmanifest sixteenth kalā is the ātman. There is another version of this teaching, in the same Adhy. of the *Bṛh. Ār. U.* (4, 15), analogous in purport though differently formulated. The ātman is intimately present in every part and function of the organism, but he cannot be apprehended in them, for inasmuch as he is immanent in this differentiated aspect of existence he is not the whole; therefore one should not seek to realize him in any of the several functions, but only as ātman—in that aspect of existence in which the manifold complex of experience is integrated into the unity of the whole of being.

Among the Upaniṣadic texts concerning the *ṣoḍaśakāla puruṣa*, that of the *Praśnop.* (Vth *pr.*) still preserves more or less distinctly the original import. Out of the intimate unmanifest Puruṣa the sixteen parts of reality have arisen. But for the man who attains the state of universal vision the sixteen parts converge again into the unity of the Puruṣa, unparted (*akala*) and immortal[12].

12 The moon as guide and 'door' to the heavenly world (cf. n. 8) is invoked under the name of Pūṣan in the prayer *Iśop.* 15ff., *Bṛh. Ār. Up.* V, 15. The opening towards the supernal world of *satya* is covered by the golden cup of his bright aspect; hence he is asked to disclose it for the vision of the initiated, whose *dharma* is *satya*. In this quality Pūṣan is invoked as Yama, king of the dead, as Sūryā Prājāpatya i.e. Pūṣan-Savitṛ (*ṚV.* X, 17, 4, cf. IV, 53, 2; *Śat. Br.* XII, 3, 5, 1), guide and protector of the dead on the distant path to the heavenly world. By discarding his rays and re-absorbing his light he allows the dying *satyadharma* to perceive his "most beautiful aspect", i.e. the "venerable", immortal aspect of the spouse of Sūryā, of the transcendent *akala* Puruṣa with whom the redeemed man, reduced to his sixteenth kalā, is now identified.

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The notion of the akala Puruṣa connects this teaching with that of the *Maitrāyanop.* concerning the two aspects of the brahman, *kāla sakala* and *akāla akala*. Akāla akala is that which was there before the sun (*prāg ādityād*, which equally means "turned towards east from the sun, namely from the sun setting in the west: the latter meaning refers to the ancient conception of the nocturnal sun. The double meaning is obviously intentional, the resultant significance being that the nocturnal sun is prior to the diurnal). Sakāla sakala is that which began with Āditya. Its form is the year with its round of life and death. Primordially there was the brahman, the Paramātman, the One, universally infinite, immeasurable, indivisible, unthinkable. It is only his shining aspect which appears in the sun and in the other cosmic lights. For two are in truth the forms of the brahman-light, one quiet, the other thriving. The latter constitutes the cosmic lights, but that higher light is the brahman's Own Form. (This *śanta brahmajyotis* is obviously the pūrṇam apravarti of the *Ch. U.*). Its hidden abode is at the same time the hypercosmic space and the hṛdākāśa, its partial shining manifestation in the cosmos is Āditya with the other lights, while in the microcosmos it is Prāṇa. The paths of Prāṇa and Āditya are co-ordinate, the direction of these paths alternates according to whether is is day or night. Like the cosmic sun, also the heart-sun radiates either downwards or upwards. By the action of the downward rays the individual migrates in saṃsāra and obtains the fruition of his karman, whereas by the action of the upward rays he is borne upwards on the devayāna path. Hence the object of the yoga-practice based on this doctrine is to orientate the inner kāla sakala, Prāṇa, in the upward direction leading through the suṣumna to deliverance, i.e. to his eventual reintegration in the transcendent akāla akala.

Here we meet again with most of the items, already known from the earlier texts, in *one* ideological complex centering in the theory of yoga: the sun of the night as the saviour and guide to the sphere of the primordial undifferentiated unity; the realization of this unity in the innermost space of the heart equated with the hypercosmic space. And the conclusion of this taching in the group of stanzas at the end of the *M. U.* reiterates the mythically philosophical doctrine of the marriage of Prāṇa with Virāj which is expounded at the beginning of the VIth Adhy. of the *Bṛh. Ār. U.*, and forms the oldest Upaniṣadic document of yoga.

The doctrine of the division and reintegration of psychic and cosmic being is visibly connected with the Vedic myth of Puruṣa-Vāc, whose one

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quarter constitutes the world while its three quarters are beyond the world. The one quarter was dismembered and transformed into the many entities of our cosmos. This ideology is applied both to the Puruṣa—in the Puruṣasūkta and several cognate hymns—, and to Vāc or Virāj—in the Vāc-hymn I, 164 and in several cognate texts. I need not again adduce the evidence, which I have already often discussed elsewhere, that Puruṣa and Vāc-Virāj have this complex of features in common because they are the male and female aspect respectively of the same androgynous all-being, The Puruṣasūkta also explains how the severance of the one quarter, which is the cosmic Puruṣa, came about: the Virāj aspect proceeded forth from the Puruṣa aspect and generated the cosmic Puruṣa.

I have also repeatedly pointed out that the oldest yoga-ideology, which appears already in the Vedas (among other texts in the great Virāj-hymn of the *AV.*, VIII, 9), is complementary to that ideology of the primordial descent and division, since it teaches the theory and practice of the reintegration of the cosmic quarter divided into many parts—whose microcosmic equivalent is the phycho-physiological unit of man with its many functions—its reintegration into the primordial unity. This realization is an ascension, an extasis, a translation to the transcendent sphere beyond the cosmos, but the transfiguration which conditions it, namely, the transfiguration of the manifold experience into the onefold ecstatic experience, takes place in the innermost space of the human heart, by the power of Virāj, whose essence is described also in this context as the nocturnal light, the mystic essence of Brahman. In direct continuity with these ideologies is the yoga-teaching of Yājñavalkya in the *Bṛh. Ār. U.* Which is the supernal way of deliverance? It is traced by the union of Prāṇa-Indha, the principle and exponent of mortal life, with his spouse Virāj, whose essence is explained in the same Adhy. as identical with that of Vāc, constituting in the microcosmos the principle of consciousness, prajñātman. When this union is consummated, man is transformed into the All-Puruṣa coextensive with the Universe. In the following *Brāhmaṇa* this transfiguration is said to be realized also in dreamless sleep. When all the cosmic lights have set, only the inner, invisible light remains to man—*yo 'yaṃ vijñānamayaḥ prāṇeṣu hṛdyantarjyotiḥ puruṣaḥ*. When this vijñānamaya puruṣa sets out for his *paralokasthāna*, then, as the text says further on, he penetrates into the innermost space of the heart-*nāḍis*. This is where the realization *"aham evedaṃ sarvo 'smi"* eventually takes place by his agency, as that other

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puruṣa, namely the prāṇa, is now wedded to the prajñātman (*yathā priyayā striyā samparişvakto na bāhyaṃ kiṃcana veda nāntaram. evam evāyam puruṣaḥ prajñenātmanā samparişvakto na bāhyaṃ kiṃcana veda nāntaram*). Therewith man is translated to his "highest world" (*so 'sya paramo lokaḥ*). This reintegration of universal being in the individual is *parama ānanda*. All the several functions of the psycho-physical organism have ceased owing to their unification.

So this is how the sakala puruṣa is turned into the akala puruṣa: by the union with Virāj, by the consummation of the transcendent vision in which the kalās of differentiated individual experience are merged.

It can be observed in the Upaniṣads how the notion of the four pādas of Gāyatrī, three of which (the verses of the Sāvitrī strophe, identified with triads of cosmic and microcosmic principles) are her lower, uttered form, whereas the fourth, transcendent and imperceptible, is her real essence and its place is Sāvitrī's real abode; how this notion is later on transformed into the notion of the four aspects of the ātman, three of which, namely the consciousness of waking, of dream and of dreamless sleep, are his nether aspects, in which he is not manifested in his true reality, whereas his fourth, highest aspect, the *turīya* which is the ecstatic consciousness of the yoga-realization, is the ātman's own form. The peculiar import of the earlier notion is also retained at the later stage in the parallel speculations regarding the sacred syllable Oṃ, which in the later period became the *ālambana* of yoga. The yoga-realization, whose four stages are marked by the four moras of Oṃ located in four cakras, is accomplished in the ek-stasis at the brahmarandhra by the reabsorption in the Turīya, which the relevant stanza calls "the Maternal Entity".

The last of the stanzas which conclude the *M. U.* connects the doctrine of the three contingent pādas and the fourth transcendent one with the Vedic doctrine of the one contingent pāda and the three transcendent ones, as in a way already the Gāyatrī-doctrine of the *Ch. U.* had done by identifying the fourth unuttered pāda of the Sāvitrī with the transcendent reality of Vāc-Puruṣa. "In the three (namely in waking, dream and dreamless sleep, as explained in the preceding st.) there is the one quarter of brahman, whereas in the transcendent (fourth) are the three quarters."

At a successive stage (in the *Nṛsiṃhottaratāpinyup.*) we can observe the interesting encounter of this doctrine of the four aspects of ātman with the doctrine of the ṣoḍaśakala puruṣa. According to the latter doctrine, the

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whole of all the kalās, the power of totality, potentially resides in the imperceptible and static sixteenth part, in the *dhruvā ṣoḍaśī kalā*, whose essence is the *pūrṇam apravarti*. But this doctrine teaches us that from this potential whole, the Puruṣa, the several kalās are born; whereas of the Turīya, who is transcendent by definition, it had always been understood that he is unconnected with the nether multiplicity and does not give rise to it.

This synthesis of the two doctrines is achieved by conceiving the Turīya as representing no longer only the *result* of the yoga-process, but the whole yoga-proess, which at the time was constructed in four stages (the four dhyānas of Epic Yoga and of Buddhism). The *Nṛsiṃhottaratāpinyup.* designates these four stages of the Turīya as *ota, anujñātṛ, anujñā* and *avikalpa*. The whole process of psycho-cosmic reality with its three stages, waking, dream and dreamless sleep, is now considered as a potential yoga-process, since it is liable to re-absorption in yoga. In this sense it is stated that each of these inferior stages ultimately abides in the Turīya by virtue of the latter's four stages (each of which potentially inheres in the Turīya as liable to re-absorption in him). This provides a scheme of psycho-cosmic reality as divided into sixteen parts. The inherence of the three contingent states of the psyche and correspondent forms of the cosmos in the stages of the Turīya is now also interpreted as their being derived from these stages. Hence the statement that "the nature of this whole world is differentiation, *nāmarūpa*, inasmuch as the Turīya has the aspect of consciousness (*cidrūpa*), but inasmuch as he has the aspect of indifference (*avikalparūpa*) the whole world assumes the aspect of avikalpa (namely the fourth stage of the Turīya).

The Turīya is now equated with the *Narasiṃha-anuṣṭubh* and this with the syllable Oṃ. So the fourth, unuttered mora of Oṃ is the *turīya-turīya*. This is said to be "the Somaloka, Virāj, the ekarṣi, the resplendent female entity (*bhāsvatī*). The ensuing yogic teaching concerns the location of the *sakala* Turīya in the psychophysiological centres or cakras, while his constantly recurrent designation as *saptātmā caturātmā* and *catuḥsaptātmā* points to his lunar connotation as the entity revolving in the 4×7 days of the lunar cycle. When the top-point of the ladder of the cakras is reached "at the end of the sixteen" (*ṣoḍaśānte*), the gradual re-absorption of the triple cosmos is completed. This means that the complex of reality is now yogically reinterpreted in the transcendent all-being of Virāj bhāsvatī.

The same ideology is subsequently expounded in the form of a narration

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modelled on the old speculative myth of *Ch. U* and *Bṛh. Ār. U.* concerning the warfare between devas and asuras, when the asuras fought the devas with that Evil which is Death (*āsuraḥ pāpmā = mṛtyu*). Our Upaniṣad narrates (VI) that as the devas were striving for the realization of ātman, they were seized by the āsuric evil, that is to say, by Death. They would overcome Death, and so they awakened the Turīya-Turīya who flashes up at the top of the Oṃkāra: *and for them the āsuric Evil was transformed into the light of pure Sat-Cit-Ānanda.* Therefore one should realize the Turīya-Turīya flashing up at the top-point of Oṃ, because thus the Āsuric Evil is transfigured into the pure light of Saccidānanda. But the devas wished to pass for ever into (the region of) that Light, as they were apprehensive of the second (*dvitīyād bhayam eva paśyantas,* that is to say, fearing to fall back into the *dvaita,* which is in the power of Death): so they stopped in the Turīya-Turīya. Thus for them the Light which shone before the world (namely the cidrūpa Turīya, as we see from Chapter II) became the Light which in its self-luminousness does not shine (namely the avikalparūpa Turīya).

On the ground of the foregoing evidence, the meaning of this allegory is now sufficiently clear. Death has lost its power over him who has realized at the top-point of the sixteen, in the Turīya-Turīya, the reintegration in the transcendent light of Virāj; for him death is not really death, as the analogous reintegration of the sakala Soma in the Akala during the amāvāsyā night is not a real death but a blissful return to his transcendent fountainhead, his wedding with Virāj bhāsvatī. Man vanquishes death in that simultaneous death and regeneration which is yoga. The yogic suppression of all the functions of life, of the kalās of the sakala puruṣa, is not a likeness of death, but a victory over death, which can be made definitive if this realization is made permanent. It is the pure ānanda of the transcendent Ātman—it is the amāvāsyā of the ṣoḍaśakala puruṣa.

MARYLA FALK

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Early Indian Jewellery

The earliest personal ornaments in India survive in the shape of unpolished stones discovered from various neolithic sites, one of which is a small village called Gungeria in C.P.[1] From allied finds of celts and other stone implements, the spot appears to have been the settlement of a neolithic people. The jewellery which was hidden underground, apparently for its safety, consisted of 120 ornamental laminae of plain thin sheets of silver and a number of beads of different shapes. The silver leaves would remind one of shiny petals of tropical flowers and the stone beads look like imitations of various seeds of fruits. These were, in all probability, meant for being strung up in threads to be worn as neck garlands.

The date of the find cannot be definitely ascertained. But it is evident that the jeweller had already advanced far from the primitive stage of ornament making when the chief ingredients in jewellery consisted of flowers, fruit seeds, animal claws and bones, and feathers of birds.

A true jewellery epoch dawned in India with the advent of the chalcolithic age. There had grown a peculiar civilization in North western portions of India during this time,—variegated remains of which have been discovered from different places in the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan etc.

Genesis of the people who lived on pasturage and agriculture is not definitely known. From their painted pottery, their well-planned architecture and sculpture in which they had reached a 'creative climax', it appears that they reached a high aesthetic and cultural level. And as a predecessor of the Indians of the subsequent age they were great admirers of high class ornaments for personal use. The principal hoards of jewellery which have survived of these people have mainly been found, together with other remains of them, from two important sites, one at Mohenjo-daro in Sind and the other at Harappa in the Punjab.

The city of Mohenjo-daro was unfortunate in being laid within the devastating orbit of the river Indus and till finally abandoned it is known to have been visited by repeated innundations. These floods have left traces on the remains of the city, leaving signs of three quite well defined periods in the life of the settlement.

1 *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 614.

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Each of these periods are supposed to have extended over an approximate length of 250 years. The antiquities of the earlier as well as of parts of the middle periods have gone beyond our reach due to the rise of subsoil water. Jewellery objects have, however, been found from all over the upper reachable strata. Ornaments are comparatively rare in the middle period but the antiquities belonging to the late period have among them three very large hoards of these consisting of various types.

The city which flourished in Harappa, unlike Mohenjo-daro, was in continuous habitation for a great length of time and hence the ruined site is found to have all the merits and faults of such a site from an archæologist's point of view. Though epoch making antiquities like the dancing statuettes were brought to light from this place, the amount of jewellery discovered at Harappa has not been a very appreciable one. These ruins at this place have so far yielded only one solitary hoard of jewellery worth any notice but some of the ornaments found in this hoard have been of great aesthetic merit.

Besides Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, numerous specimens of chalcolithic jewellery were discovered from various other explored sites of the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan. These objects have been mostly found in fragmentary condition and are not worth any special notice. Among these sites just mentioned that of Chanhu-daro in Sind has been of a special interest to the archæologist as well as the student of personal ornaments because remains of numerous stone beads in various states in the process of manufacture were found from this place. It appears that the industry of bead-making was to some extent localised at Chanhu-daro, and other big cities of the chalcolithic age received their requisite supply from that place.

It has been pointed out by some scholars that beads of Indian origin found their way to other chalcolithic cities, the distant land of Mesopotamia. Besides beads, several other objects of distinctly Indian character were also discovered from among the antiquities found in the Sumerian cities of Ur and Kish while a few objects having distinctly Sumerian character were discovered among the finds of Mohenjo-daro and Harrappa This exchange of antiquities shows that there probably existed some close contact between the people of these two distant lands.

Though there were these affinities between the Indians and the Mesopotamians of the chalcolithic age, which led some scholars to think that the

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two people might have originally belonged to the same stock yet there was a fundamental difference between the two which interests the student of personal ornaments most.[2] This difference lay in the practice of their disposal of the dead.

In Mesopotamia, as well as in Egypt, in mediterranean islands of Crete and Mycene and in Russia, from where have been discovered the earliest remains of civilization, human bodies were usually buried after death. The royal personages were given fitting burial in accompaniment with various paraphernalia which those personages used to enjoy during their life-time. This practice came to be of immense help to the archæologist and in spite of the efforts of the treasure hunters of all ages, enormous riches of the ancient age have been found to survive in the monumental sepulchral edifices of those countries. In the Indus valley the usual rite was to dispose of the dead by cremation.[3] As a consequence the archæologist failed in his search to find out anything in the shape of sepulchral deposit from the chalcolithic sites of India excepting a few pot burials found at Harappa.

On account of the absence of grave deposits, archæologists, here, had to explore other possible sources for the find of ornaments. We have already had occassion to mention how some ornaments were recovered from the excavated sites. The jewelleries thus found are too poor in number to be either adequate or representative from which a really comprehensive study can be made, nor can any conclusion be drawn about the ultimate skill and efficiency of the chalcolithic jeweller of India.

As has already been said the principal objects of chalcolithic jewellery were discovered from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. The earliest of these was discovered at Mohenjo-daro in the year 1924-25. This was found contained in a copper jar and was discovered at a level of 3′ under the surface of the earth. The hoard consisted of (i) two small silver rings; (ii) two gold rings in dilapidated condition; (iii) several studs and (iv) a number of other objects including beads of various types.[4]

The second hoard which was, however, the largest of these hoards, was discovered in the following year. This collection was stored up in a silver

2 *MIC.*, p. 67-8.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 89, 224; Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, p. 205.
4 *ASIAR.*, 1924-25 p. 61 & 70; pl. xx; *MIC.*, p. 252-3.

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vessel buried at a depth of 6′ below the surface of the earth. Besides various other objects, it contained (i) four hollow round bracelets of gold; (ii) two circular gold studs etc.[5]

The third hoard was discovered at a different site, 4′ below the surface. This contained numerous beads and a number of other gold and silver objects.[6]

The hoard from Harappa had, besides the usual beads, several very interesting specimens of jewellery including a heart shaped pendant of gold inlaid with paste, an '8'—shaped piece of silver inlaid with gold lining, and gold capped paste beads and a pair of ellipse like ornaments made of soldered conical bosses of gold. This hoard was found in the year 1928-29 at a depth of about 8′ below the surface where it lay on a bed of hard earth along with scattered pieces of charcoal.[7]

Besides these chief collections of ornaments, occasional finds of jewellery were made from almost all over the excavated sites. These stray finds, however, consist mostly of beads, one or two stray specimens of thin metal ribbons and numerous rings surviving in various states of preservation.

It may here be pointed out again that most of these stray ornaments including those found in hoards were discovered from layers of late period. Only very few beads and several other objects identifiable as ornaments or parts thereof could be recovered from amidst the remains of the middle period. But the jewellery of the earlier periods has gone absolutely beyond our reach. It was noticed by Dr. Mackay in case of the terracotta figurines, that the difference between those found in the earliest reachable strata and the figures found in the topmost strata was not so manifest as could be expected.[8] The appearance of jewellery represented on these figurines also presents very little discrimination. In technique the jeweller might have gradually improved, the actual shapes of some ornaments might as well have undergone changes in course of hundreds of years through which the cities flourished. But, as there is no ornament of earlier age preserved and as the jewellery shown on the human figures found from different strata displays little

5 *ASIAR.*, 1925-26, p. 89f. pl. xli; *MIC.*, p. 527f., 250.
6 *Ibid.*, 1926-27, p. 70f. pl. xii; *MIC.*, p. 194.
7 *ASIAR.*, 1928-29, p. 76; pl. xxxd; M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, p. 63. pl. xxxvii.
8 E. Mackay, *Further excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, p. 257.

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distinction, it has been useless to trace the steps through which the jewellery forms had evolved.

For the manufacture of ornaments the Indus valley jeweller had made use of a very extensive variety of elements. Of the metals, the people had a liberal supply of copper and they made a very comprehensive use of it. For its abundance, its pliability and the lusture that it attains by polish copper has always remained in India a very popular element with the poor masses for the manufacture of their ornaments.[9]

Though copper was the most extensively available metal, it was never held in any favour by those who could afford to have jewellery made of gold and silver, and the rarity of these metals and the existence of skilfully made ornaments in these elements alone prove beyond any doubt that gold and silver had already occupied their enviable position in the domain of ornaments. Of the metals and other alloys, the Indus valley craftsman made use of a combination of gold and silver, commonly known as electrum in Europe, and bronze. Dr. Vincent Smith was of opinion that India never experienced any 'bronze age.'[10] In fact no particular period in Indian history can be technically termed as 'bronze age' but bronze was not unknown to the chalcolithic people of the country. Its use was not, however, encouraged because, probably, of the paucity of tin.

The various properties of gold, its peculiar attractive colour which can be enhanced by polish and the ease with which it can be delineated into any required shape have made this metal the most favoured material for the manufacture of jewellery. Wherefrom the Indians got their supply of gold cannot be definitely said. India has always been known as a country very rich in gold[11] and though very few mines in India are in a working state at the present age yet some scholars have opined that the South Indian mines have been working for the last 25 centuries or more.[12] Contemporary Egyptians had their supply of gold from the Nubian mines but they also knew how to get gold from river sand.[13] The river Indus is found even now to wash down gold particles and the Vedic Aryans were conversant in the

9 *Indian Culture*, vol. VI, No. 4, p. 416.

10 *Indian Antiquary*, 1905, p. 229.

11 'Buy electrum from Sardis if Ye will and gold from India,'.....Sophoclis.

12 Maclaren, J. M. *Gold*, p. 2388-40.

13 Partington, *Origin and Development of Applied Chemistry*. p. 232; also see Smith, *EHA*., p. 51. Blumner, *'Terminologie,'* pt. iv, p. 122.

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art of separating gold dust by washing the river sand.[11] It may not be unreasonable to think that in still earlier times the river Indus was richer in its washed down gold and in every probability, the chalcolithic people received a part of their gold as their Vedic successors. Nevertheless, the Indus valley people made a very considerable use of the metal and in all probability, received it from more than one source. Some scholars think that the Sumerians, who had no gold in their own country, received a share of their gold from India.

Silver was also derived from a very liberal source because the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro could indulge in making even big jars out of this precious metal but it was not probably held in any great esteem because probably of the abundance of gold. Of the ornaments so far found very few are of silver, and though it was not very rare yet it was not so cheap as to be available to the ordinary folk.

Excepting in Ur, antiquities of silver are rarely met with in Mesopotamia.[15] .Ores of gold found in Nubia contained a sprinkle of silver too and this had been the only source of silver available to the people of Egypt.[16] The process of extraction being a difficult one, silver remained a costlier metal in Egypt than gold and its extensive use was never possible in that country. The relation of Ur with the Indus valley, as has been proved by discoveries of antiquities of extremely allied character in both the countries, was a very close one. In an area where silver was comparatively rare, a liberal occurrence of silver ornaments in Ur probably indicates that the inhabitants of that place had an access to the sources from where the Indus valley people also received their supply. The source might have been in Afganistan where silver was found with coppper.[17]

These were the metallic elements employed for the manufacture of jewellery in the Indus valley. Of the other elements stones of various sorts were widely used. Besides stone, there was shell and a sort of artificial stone now known as paste, or faience. It was a peculiar preparation of clay, silica and flax etc. which were mixed with lovely colours and burnt with extreme care and dexterity. Similarly was used pure clay for the purpose of making beads as well as ring shaped ornaments meant probably for arms or legs. Clay ornaments have not only been found from chalcolithic sites of Indus

14 *Rg Veda*, x, 75, 8.
15 Wooley, *Ur Excavation*, vol. II, p. 411f.
16 Partington *op. cit.*, p. 230.
17 *MIC.*, p. 675f.

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valley alone but have also been discovered from various other sites, especially in Orissa. Orissa has been known as a great centre of artistic activity, and it is said that beautiful ornaments made of clay are still worn by poor women in Orissa. It appears quite probable that the plight of the down trodden people in the society has always remained the same and the poor folk of Mohenjo-daro etc. had to remain content with ornaments made of clay. Even clay ornaments were not devoid of their taste for art and beauty and a good many clay objects betray the craftsman's care in execution, baking and colouring.[18]

Numerous antiquities have been found in ivory but personal ornaments of ivory are not frequent at all. This element was never extensively employed for the manufacture of jewellery as gold, silver, copper or stone-though India is reputed for her richness in ivory.

Stones were mainly employed for the manufacture of beads and pendants of various types. Among the stones can be enumerated agate, carnelian, calcedony and onyx (three different varieties of agate), steatite, quartz, lapis lazuli, 'Amazon stone', turquoise and various other similar semi-precious stones which were freely used.

For the purpose of making beads the stones had to be properly selected, cut, polished and bored with extreme carefulness and skill. These processes were carried out to impart a loveliness to the beads which after being finished acquired the virtue of glittering and shining.

Unfortunately very few ornaments have been found in tact. The metal objects are mostly in dilapidated condition; shell, ivory faience and terracotta objects have been found in fragments; cords in which the beads and pendants were originally strung have been tracelessly lost. For these reasons the original shapes of many of the ornaments have been changed beyond recovery. In some metal ornaments there was originally some sort of core which disappeared leaving the metals in lumps. Stray objects of shell etc. and beads escaped into rubbish deposits and wherever strings of beads were left, only heaps of beads have survived due to the decay of the cords. Attempts have, however, been made in a number of cases to restore the objects to their original shapes. But, for a more accurate study of the original shapes of the ornaments and the ways in which these were worn, an examination of the stone, metal and terracotta figures of that age is

18 *MIC.*, p. 517.

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necessary, because there exist on these figures representations of such jewellery as were probably actually in use during that age.

The chalcolithic sites so far explored have yielded a few stone and bronze figures together with a number of figurines and toys made of terra-cotta. Of the figures in stone, two elegant specimens found at Harappa are shown without any adornment. Some scholars think that these figures which might have represented some sort of divinity worshipped during that age, used to be adorned by actual ornaments.[19] Representations of jewellery, however, occur on most of the remaining figures in stone.

Of these a very interesting specimen was found at Mohenjo-daro at a depth of 4′ 6″ below the surface. The figure represents a male person; the forearms and the lower portions of it are lost.[20]

The beard and hair of the figure are schematically dishevelled; a shawl having trefoil motifs is shown round its shoulders in Indian way; the expression of the face is calm and the eyes are shown fixed on the tip of the nose. The trefoil motifs and the yogic glance have given the figure a sacred bearing.

On its extant body, only two pieces of ornaments can be traced; one is round the forehead and the other is round the right upper arm. The ornament round the forehead represents a broad ribbon, broadening towards the ends. It passes through a flat circular buckle placed just at the top of the forehead. The ribbon is fastened at the back of the head and the two ends hang loosely upon the back. The armlet appears to be a similar broad ribbon with a miniature buckle. The rest of the stone figures have been badly damaged by weather and it is difficult to trace the ornaments represented upon them with any fair amount of correctness. Representations of similar forehead fillets with dangling ends occur on a few other male figures.[21] Another male figure is found to have a big knot of hair at the back of its head. The knot is kept in position by means of several ribbons and there appears a hair pin with a small knob partially inserted into the knot.[22]

Male figures, it may be pointed out, are very rare and mostly occur in stone. A few, however, occur in terracotta too. In case of terracotta the figures are shown without any wearing apparels but almost invariably

19 *MIC.*, p. 46.
20 *MIC.*, pl. 356, pl. xcviii, 1-4.
21 *Ibid.*, p. 357 pl. C.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 358, pl. xcix, fig. 6.

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bedecked with a number of trinkets including necklaces and bracelets shown in applique. These figures are considered to have some sacred bearing and it is apparent that the artist fancifully showed as many trinkets upon these figures as he could conceive of.[23] The ornaments in these cases were barely indicated by means of undecorated strips and pellets of clay and it is extremely difficult to say anything regarding the actual forms of the ornaments denoted by those strips.

The figures are, however, very few in number and from a study of the problems whether there had been any particular types of ornament which were worn by males alone or whether there was any peculiar fashion which prevailed only among them can be conclusively solved. The steatite figure mentioned above shows that there was probably an aristocratic class who wore ornaments of a neat yet dignified type.[24] A peculiar seated figure occurring on a seal found at Mohenjo-daro afford another interesting evidence to the fact that different people maintained different ideas regarding the ways in which a male person could be adorned. This figure has both its arms covered with rows of strips which evidently represent bracelets of various shape. There are eleven rings round each arm and a number of torques dangle from its neck. The bracelets are worn from wrists upto the shoulders and display a very peculiar way of adorning one's arms. The figure, seated in yogāsana with four animals on four sides and a horn on the head, has been identified by some as an archetype of Śiva.[25] In later age special ornaments are found to have grown up, which were peculiar to particular faith or tribe.[26] It may not be unreasonable to think that the way in which ornaments are shown on this figure was peculiar to some particular deity or faith and was not widely prevalent among the masses.

As has always been the case, the glamour of jewellery had its true appeal to the fair sex as becomes evident from the female figures so numerously found from the excavated sites. So far no female figure has been found in stone. Majority of the figures occur in terracotta while there are a few specimens in bronze too.[27] Many of the figures are represented with quite

23 *MIC.*, p. 340 and also p. 34. 24 *MIC.*, p. 44.
25 *MIC.*, pl. xxii, fig. 17; p. 52.
26 H. Henody, (*Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XII), Indian Jewellery, p. 2.
27 *MIC.*, p. 338f., Mackay, *Further excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, p. 257, Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, p. 292f.

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burdening loads of ornaments, shown in case of the terracotta figurines, by means of strips and pellets in applique.

On the head, most of the figures have high fan like head dresses which cover whole of the head as well as ears. In case of some of the figures broad ribbon like objects are shown round the lower part of the head-dresses. It appears probable that ribbons were employed in some cases to keep the head-dresses in position.[28] In several cases there can be traced a floral shaped pellet at the top of the forehead where usually the hair bifurcates.[29] These may easily be identified as archetypes of modern 'tikli' so widely worn by the women of northern India. Besides this peculiar forehead ornaments other types of forehead adornments may also be traced in case of some other figures. Of these the most interesting is a 'V' shaped ornament which occurs on the forehead of a figure found from a stratum belonging to the middle period of Mohenjo-daro.[30]

Ears, as has already been noticed, were almost invariably covered either with the head-dresses or plaited hair and it is difficult to trace any ear-ornament. A figure of a female dwarf discovered at Mohenjo-daro has got the representation of a well shaped earring attached to one of its ears; the other ear is lost.

Whether nose ornaments were in vogue has become a question of great controversy. Dr. Mackay and Mr. Vats have identified a number of circular studs found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro as nose buttons. Most of the human figurines under survey have their noses very carefully defined and in case of a fair majority these have survived with little damage. A searching scrutiny of these figures has failed to reveal any trace of nose ornament. If the practice of wearing nose studs was really in vogue, there could possibly be no plea on the part of the artist, who took every care to indicate ornaments on all adornable parts of the body, to conceal the nose ornaments in particular and it seems reasonable to refrain from uttering anything conclusive in this respect.[31]

The figures show a varied stock of neck ornaments which could be worn at a time in considerable numbers. Some figurines belonging to a

28 *MIC.*, p. 338. See also Van Buren, *Clay figures of Babylonia & Assyria.* p. 14, 923.

29 Mackay, *Further Excavations*, p. 260f.

30 *ASIAR.*, 1925-26, pl. xxxvi, a.

31 *MIC.*, p. 528; Mackay, *op. cit.*, p. 531. Vats, *op. cit.*, 446.

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considerably early age have representations of thin wiry rings shown in such a way as to cover the whole neck from the trunk to the head. Dr. Mackay thinks that these represented ornaments made of metal rings rather than spiral wires.[32] Dr. Mackay has pointed out a close relationship between this practice and the practice of wearing laces which was prevalent in England some twenty years ago and the habit of wearing coiled collars still existing among the Shah women in Burma.

Several figures have representations of a sort of tight collar round the lower end of the neck. Such collars could be worn from one to three at a time. The strips have occasionally big pellets attached along their lower edge. This phenomenon also occurs in case of the ordinary longer necklaces. There was already occasion to make mention of the abundance of beads and pendants of various sorts. Till very recently neck strings were usually made of beads and pendants of diverse materials. It is evident that the plain strips indicated strings of beads and the pellets were nothing but representations of pendants. In some cases small circular pellets may be found placed on board strips of necklaces. These were meant either to indicate bigger beads or some medallion shaped metal objects set in the strings.[33]

There are several figures whose collars and dalliers have been shown by means of perforated strips. These cannot but fail to remind one of chains made of metal, which have also been a very favourite type of neck ornament in India from a very early time.[34]

Next to the neck ornaments the girdles appear to have been held in much favour. The girdles are indicated on these figures by means of various devices. Usually these are shown by means of two to six simple strips placed in applique round the waist with a circular or ellipse shaped medallion of clay, just below the navel. The pellets are seen to range from one to three in number.[35] The ordinary strips may be identified as strings of beads while the medallions might have represented some sorts of metal clasp.

Several figures have got rows of conical bosses shown round the waist as girdle. These appear to have been ornaments made of rows of soldered conical bosses of metal or such bosses sewn on broad ribbons of some woven material.[36]

32 Mackay, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
33 *MIC.*, pl. xciv, Mackay, *op. cit.*, lxxii.
34 *MIC.*, pl. xii also x.
35 *MIC.*, pl. xciv, 14, Mackay, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxii, 5. also *MIC.*, pl. xcv, 10.
36 Mackay, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxii, 5. also *MIC.*, pl. xcv, 10.

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The figurines have, mostly, been found in badly damaged state, the greatest damage being suffered by the arms and the legs which have rarely survived in tact. It appears that most of the figures had their arms and ankles adorned with well shaped rings representing bracelets and anklets. One of the figures, which has its arms truncated just below the shoulders shows traces of armlets very high up round the remaining portion of the arm.[37] It may not be unreasonable to think that both the arms of the figure were fully covered with such strips from wrists to shoulders. The strips probably indicate, as is evident from their carefully polished surface, rings made of metal tubes. But the objects might also have represented well polished rings of shell, faience or even terracotta, numerous specimens of which were recovered from the excavated sites in well preserved or fragmentary conditions.

A type of arm ornaments traced on a number of figurines found at Mohenjo-daro deserves a special notice. In this ornament the clay strips rise high up, encircling the arms in close spirals. These ornaments could be used both as armlets and bracelets. As the arms of most of the figures are gone it is difficult to ascertain the extent of its use.

The ornament clearly represents a high flexible ring of spirals, made, probably, of thick metal wires. Exactly similar ornaments are extensively used by north Indian women even at the present time as bracelets, when they are known as 'māthiā' and as anklets, when they are called 'pairy'. Such rings are extensively worn by the figures at Bārhut and occur in almost all the monuments upto the age of Sanchi (*c.* 200-100 B.C.) This discovery of spiral rings at Mohenjo-daro has proved to be of immense relief to the student of Indian jewellery. It is well known that spiral ornaments were a common feature among the antiquities found in the Oxus valley.[38] Such rings occur also in Greek jewellery of about 700 B.C. [39] Petrie noticed a serpent shaped spiral made of gold in Egypt. The object according to him could not be of an earlier date than 500 B.C. He is also of opinion that the object was of Greek or Cryptic origin.[40] Such ornaments cannot be traced in Egypt before its contact with Greece nor in Sumeria.

37 *ASIAR.*, 1925-26, pl. xliii, b.

38 Dalton, *Treasure of the Oxus*, p. 110-11, pl. xvii. Barovka, *Scythian art*, pl. 67, p. 104.

39 Sir Flinders Petrie, *Ten years digging in Egypt*, p. 33. 40 *Ibid.*

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On the other hand almost all the specimens found outside India are seen to terminate in animal form. The Scythians are renowned as great lovers of animal art and the spirals occurring in Persian art and in Greek jewellery clearly betray Scythian influence. In India also spirals terminating in animal forms are not quite unknown but such occurrence is rare and cannot be dated before 200 B.C. The traditional Indian form was highly flexible in shape with plain ends.

The origin of the basic form of these spirals which had covered such wide area extending from the shores of the Mediterranean upto the Gangetic valley was shrouded in mystery before this discovery at Mohenjo-daro. It is, however, definite that the forms known at Mohenjo-daro are earliest in date. If the people of Indus valley as well as the Scythians did not receive this from a still unknown source of earlier origin, the Indian jeweller of the chalcolithic age may in all fairness, be credited as the original inventor of thin form.

Two bronze female figures, both discovered at Mohenjo-daro have preserved a very interesting evidence of the fashion of wearing arm ornaments in a peculiar way. The figures, both shown in dancing attitude, have got one of each arms adorned with a row or rings rising from the wrists upto the very shoulders. Each of the other two arms of both the figures has just four pairs of rings, two at the wrists and the other two just above the elbow. Wearing of arm-ornaments in this fashion still exists among dancing girls of some parts of India and in the Indus valley also it might have been restricted to that particular class.

Of the anklets, most of which are shown, in case of the terracotta figurines, in the same way as the rings shown round the arms, special attention may be drawn to one surviving on the fragment of a leg made of bronze.[41] It represents a slightly curved ring made of hollow tube and bears very close resemblence to anklets worn in various parts of India and known as 'khāḍu'. Nowadays these are made of hollow tubes, usually of brass, and small metal pieces are placed within so that the anklets may jingle at the time of movement. In Vedic texts ornamental rings are generally known as 'khādi' and some scholars are of opinion that the modern name 'khāḍu' is derived from Vedic 'khādi'.[42]

41 Mackay, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxiii, 5.
42 Jogesh Ch. Ray, *Pravāsi* 1334 B.S. II, p. 71.

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The male figure with fillets, as has already been referred to above, might have represented the way in which some people at least used to adorn their persons. Other ornaments as seen on these figures, may also be taken as representative of such ornaments as were actually worn at that time. Objects having close resemblence to the fillets shown on the figures are available in Egypt.[13] Fillets, it may be pointed out, were a very favourite object of personal adornment in Mesopotamia also, as would be evident from actual finds as well as representations on sculpture. Especially the method of winding the fillets round the head and allowing the ends to dangle on the back may be traced in Egypt and Mesopotamia as in India. The fillets represented on Egyptian statues are stiff, and actual finds in that country show that these represented ornaments made of gold. Dr. Mackay suggests that the fillets, seen on Indian figures, represent ribbons made of some woven material. Several other specific examples of similar fillets may be presented from Indian monuments of a later age. One occurs round the head of a soldier seen on a railing pillar at Bārhut, in which case the two ends are shown floating in the air and it certainly represented a ribbon made of some woven material. The soldier wears heavy coat and trousers, boots and a sword hanging from a belt. The other fillet occurs on the head of a figure clad in Persian costumes seen in Ajanta (*c.* 500 A.D.). This also appears to be a ribbon of some woven material. Both these figures apparently represented people of foreign origin, coming from beyond the north west.[44] The fashion appears to have been a common property of all the peoples who lived between the Indus and the Euphrates or even the Nile.[45]

[*To be continued*]

KALYAN KUMAR GANGULI

43 Perrot & Chipiez, *A History of Art in Ancient Egypt*, vol. II, fig. 219.

44 A. Cunningham, *Barhut*, pl. xxxiii, 4.

45 For the Ajanta figure see J. *Griffith, The paintings of Ajanta*, II, pl. civ, 8, pl. 95.

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MISCELANY

A new Buddhist Sect in Kanheri

In *ASWI.*, vol. V, p. 85, Bühler published an inscription from Kanheri cave No. 76, which reads as follows:—

Lüders' List No. 1020, *ASI.*, No. 28, (*West's* No. 39).

1. Sidha(ṃ) upāsakasa Dhenukākat(i)yasa (Kulapiyasa)
2. (Dha)maṇakasa dh(u)tuya pavaītik(ā)ya Sā(pāya the)
3. r(ā)ṇa bhadata Bōdhikāṇa Pāṇakāṇa[1] atevāsini(ya)
4. leṇa deyadhama p(ā)ṇiyapoḍhi cha saha bhagi (niya)
5. Ratinikāya saha cha saveṇa nātisabadhi (vage)
6. ṇa ch(ā)tudis(e) bhikhusagh(e) aṭhasu Puris (esu)
7. lesu? patiṭhāpita mātāpitu.....etc.

"Success! By the female ascetic Sāpā (Sarpā) the daughter of the lay worshipper and inhabitant of Dhenukakaṭa, Kulapiya (Kulapriya) Dhamaṇaka[2] (Dharma) (and) the pupil of Thera the Rev. Bodhika, (she being associated) with her sister Ratinikā and with the whole number of her relatives and connections, a cave and a water cistern have been excavated (as) meritorious gift for the community of ascetics from the four quarters of the horizon (viz.) for eight persons and.....for the benefit of her parents .....etc."

From the question-mark that has been put in line 7 of his reading and the translation cited above, it appears that Bühler could not interpret satisfactorily the meaning of the terms "*aṭhasu puris(esu)lesu*" as read by him.

Unfortunately Bühler did not publish any facsimile of this inscription. Recently when I examined it *in situ*, I found that the passage in question read "*Atha Aparīselesu*" and not "*aṭhasu puris(esu)lesu*" as read by Bühler.

In the previously published eye-copies, the word *Atha* (showing the dot in the circle for *tha*) is clear in Dr. Bird's facsimile,[3] while the word

1 The word "*Pāṇakāṇa*" is missing in Dr. Bühler's transliteration and is supplied here from Dr. West's eye copy of the inscription and from the accompanying ink impressions prepared by me.

2 Pandit Bhagawanlal read "Rāmaṇaka" in place of "Dhamaṇaka" (see *Bombay Gazetteer*, XV, p. 188) but Bühler's reading is more probable.

3 *Historical Researches*, (1853) Plate XLV, No. 18.

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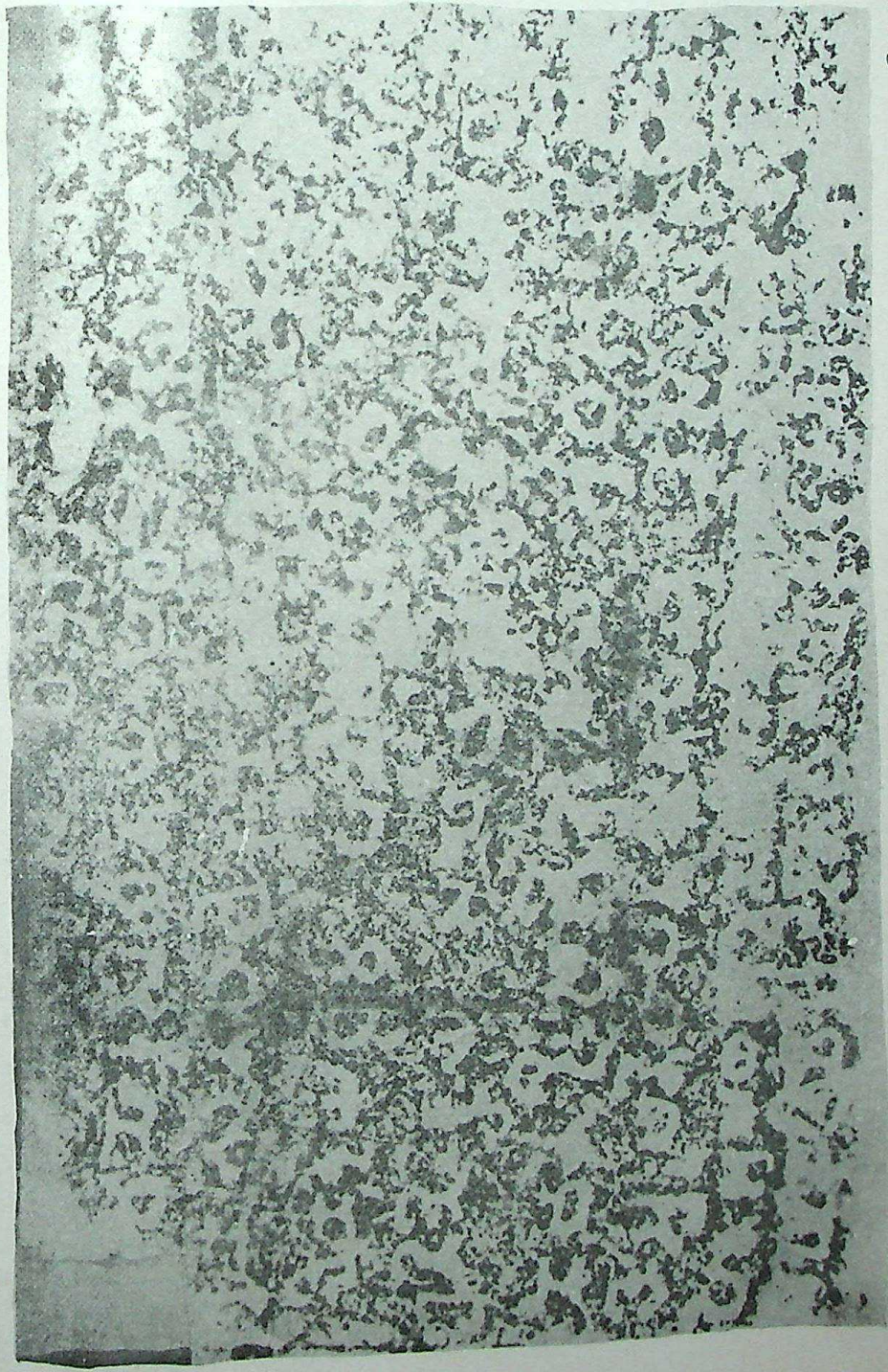

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Apuria can be well made out from the transcript of Dr. E. West,[4] the forms, of the letters *a* and *su*, being almost identical in the early Brāhmī characters. The accompanying photograph of the inscription would make this readng quite clear.

The inscription would then be translated as follows:—

"A cave and a water cistern have been excavated (as) meritorious gift for the community of ascetics from the four quarters, as a special property of the Aparaśaila (sect), residing here,.....for the benefit of her parents.....etc."

It is evident from this reading, therefore, that the inscripton purports to record a grant to the Aparaśaila sect of the Buddhists residing in the monastery at Kanheri.

The Purvaśaila (Pali = Pubbaseliyā) and Aparaśaila (Pali = Aparaseliyā) are known to us as the heterodoxical sects that arose in the second century after Buddha's death.[5]

They are referred to in the *Mahāvaṃśa*,[6] *Dīpavaṃśa*[7] and *Mahābodhivaṃśa*.[8] According to the *Kathāvatthu* commentary,[9] they belonged to the Andhaka school. Their views were similar to the Cetiyavādins.[10]

We have an interesting account of the probable origin of these sects by Hiuen Thsang, the famous Chinese traveller. He writes,[11] "In the country *T'o-na-kie-tse-kia* (Dhenukākaṭa) there are numerous convents, mostly deserted and ruined. There are in those preserved about 10,000 or so priests. They all study the Law of the Great Vehicle. To the east of the capital[12] bordering on a mountain, is a convent called Purvaśaila and to

4 *JBBRAS.*, VI, No. 39.

5 Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. I, p. 118; vol. II, p. 236.

6 Geiger, *Mahāvaṃsa*, Vv. 12.

7 Geiger, *Dipavaṃsa*, Vv. 55.

8 *Mahābodhivaṃśa*, (P.T.S.) p. 97.

9 Rhys Davids, *Points of Controversy*, xli, xliii, p. 104, 108, 115.

10 Louis de la Vallée Pousin, *JRAS.*, April, 1910, p. 413 ff.

11 *Si-yu-ki*, trans. by Beal, II, p. 221; Beal, *Life of Hiuen Thsang*, p. 136; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, II, p. 217.

12 Different opinions seem to prevail among scholars about the identity of the capital of the Dhenukākaṭa country. Dr. Vogel, (*Epi. Ind.*, XX. p. 8) is inclined to identify it tentatively with the remains at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, as the name of Śri-Parvata occurs in one of the inscriptions (F) found there. According to a Tibetan tradition (Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, I, p. 220) Nāgārjuna, the founder of the

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the west of the city, leaning against a mountain is a convent called Avaraśaila."

This tradition is further supported by other Tibetan accounts.[13]

Purvaśaila sect is also mentioned in the Alluru[14] inscription from the Kṛṣṇā district and in the recently discovered Dharmacakra pillar inscription[15] found at Dharaṇikoṭa. Under the name *Apara-mahā-vina-seliyā*, the Aparaśaila sect is mentioned in several Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription.[16] The word Purvaśaila also appears there once.[17] The records of the Cetika school, to which the Puravaśaila and Aparaśaila sects corresponded, have been found at Amarāvati,[18] in the ntighbourhood of Dharaṇikoṭa.

These inscriptions indicate that the Purvaśaila and Aparaśaila sects were much favoured by the monks residing in the Kṛṣṇā district round about Dhenukākaṭa, the place of their origin. Most of them belong to the Śātavāhana period.

Dhenukākaṭa, as we know from history, was an early capital of the Śātavāhana kings. With the shifting of their capital from Dhenukākaṭa (modern Dharaṇikoṭa) to Pratiṣṭhāna it is probable that many of the Buddhist monks from the former place migrated to Western India. This is

Mahāyāna school, is stated to have spent his last days on this mountain. *Mañjuśri-mūla-kalpa*, also refers to this mountain in the following way;—

श्रीपर्वते महाशैले दक्षिणापथसंज्ञिके
श्रीधान्यकटके चैत्ये जिनधातुवरे भुवि ॥

M.M.K. (Trivendrum Edn.) p. 8.

Cf. also Dutt. *Ind. His. Quarterly*, V, pp. 794-96.

The late Dr. C. Minakshi, following Sewell, *JRAS.*, (1880), p. 95 ff., takes the Bezwada hills as the site for the monasteries referred to by Huen Thsang. (See his *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 221). Recently an attempt has been made to locate the place Dhenukākaṭa, in the island of Salsette, near Bombay, and to identify it with Dounga, a sea-port, mentioned by Ptolemy in his "Geography of India". See Dr. E. H. Johnston, *Two notes on Ptolemy's Geography of India; JRAS.*, (1941), p. 208 ff.

13 Bhavya's *Nikāyabheda-vibhaṅga*, cited by Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 184.

14 *Annual Report, South Indian Epigraphy*, 1923-24. p. 97. *Annual Report, Arch. Survey of India*, 1923-24, p. 93.

15 *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV, p. 256.

16 Vogel, *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions*, *Epi. Ind.*, XX-XXI, Inscriptions Cr. C2, E, M2, M3.

17 Vogel, *Ibid.*, *Inscription* F. This, however, refers to some locality.

18 Lüders' No. 1248. *Archæological Survey of South India*, I, p. 100.

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why perhaps we find the names of the donors from this place inscribed in the Western Indian caves.

As many as twelve pillars of the great Caitya cave at Kārle[19] were gifts from the inhabitants of Dhenukākaṭa. This place also figures in a Śelārwādi cave inscription.[20]

As the donor of the present inscription[21] hailed from Dhenukākaṭa, it would not be far wrong to state that she wanted to record her gift for the particular sect which originated in her country, or perhaps she was a devotee of.

That the Cetika school (to which Purvaśaila and Aparaśaila sects corresponded) was also followed in other places in Western India, gains some support from the fact that inscriptions referring to that sect have been found in the Junnar,[22] Nasik,[23] and Ajantā[24] caves.

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT

Tat-pādânudhyāta-*

A single copper-plate grant of the Gāhaḍavāla king Madanapāla of V.E. 1164 (1107 A.D.) was discovered at village Baḍerā in District Partabgarh (U.P.) some time ago. It has been edited and translated by myself in *The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, vol. XIV, part I, pp. 69-77, with a preliminary note from Mr. K. C. Sinha (pp. 66-69). This is, so far as I am aware, the only inscription of the time of Madana-

19 *Lüders' List.* (Karle) Nos. 1090, 1092, 1093, 1096, 1097. Madho Sarup Vats, *Unpublished votive Inscriptions in the Caitya cave at Karle, Epigraphia Indica* XVIII, Inscriptions, Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Nilakantha Sastri and Gopalachari, *Epigraphic Notes. A Karle Caitya pillar Inscription, Epi. Ind.* XXIV, p. 281.

20 *Lüders' List.* (Śelāwādi) No. 1121.

21 *Lüders' List.* (Kanheri) No. 1020.

22 *Lüders' List.* (Junnar) No. 1171.

23 *Lüders' List.* (Nasik) No. 1130.

24 Burgess and Bhagwanlal, *Cave Temple Inscriptions*, (*ASWI.*, vol. X) p. 85. Ajantā *painted* inscription No. 17.

* *Postscript*—It has just come to my notice that Dr. D. C. Sircar has already suggested in the *Jounal of the Andhra Research Society*, vol. X, p. 229, that *tat pādânudhyāta*='favoured by him'=*tat-parigṛhīta-*.

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pāla, in which he figures as the donor. There is no other special feature in the inscription.

I wish, however, to draw the attention of Sanskrit epigraphists to my translation of *°pādânudhyāta-*[1] occurring in lines 9-10 of the inscription. This expression frequently occurs in the genealogical portions of Sanskrit inscriptions and is translated even by competent Sanskritists as "meditating on the feet of." I, however, feel that this is a grammatically untenable translation. *Anu-√dhyā-* is a transitive root, not meaning 'to go' or 'to obtain.' Consequently the suffix *-ta-* cannot be used in the active voice: *anudhyāta-* is definitely in the passive voice. *°pādânudhyāta-* has, therefore, to be grammatically translated as "*meditated* on by the feet of" and not as "*meditating* on by the feet of." I have pointed out in the article referred to above (p. 74, fn. 3) that *anudhyāta-* must mean "thought after," "taken care of," "followed with blessing," "favoured" and cited *Uttararāmacarita* of Bhavabhūti, Act I, *sā tvam amba snuṣāyām Arundhatīva Sītāyāṃ śivânudhyānā bhava*[2] (ed. Belvalkar, Poona 1921, p. 8) for the meaning of *anu-√dhyā-*. I have pointed out further that *tat-pādânudhyāta-* thus corresponds to *tat-parigṛhīta-*, "accepted by him" of some of the Gupta inscriptions. My actual translation of *°pādânudhyāta-* in the Baḍerā inscription is "followed with blessing by the feet of." This translation admits of further simplification, viz., "favoured by the feet of." For the translation "meditating on the feet of" being grammatically accurate, we would require a text like *°pādânudhyāyin-*.

Will Sanskrit epigraphists give their thoughts to this correction, which is not merely grammatical, but has considerable importance from the point of view of the political relationship (acceptance for succession?) between two persons indicated in such passages?

K. Chattopadhyaya

1 The whole passage is परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरनिजभुजोपार्जितश्रीकन्यकुब्जाधिपत्यश्रीचन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीमन्मदनपालदेवो विजयी ॥

2 Translated by Belvalkar (*H.O.S.*, vol. 21, p. 22), "Be thou, therefore, O [divine] mother, towards [this] thy daughter-in-law, Sītā, ever cherishing kindly thoughts—even like Arundhatī [herself]!"

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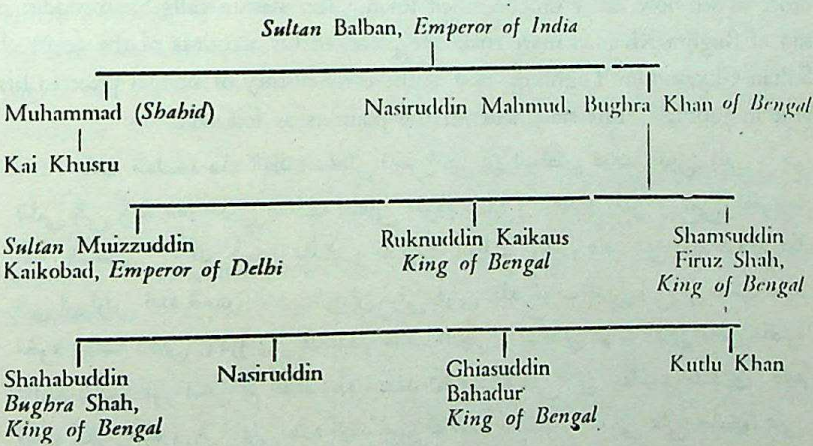
The Historicity of Ibn Batuta

re. Shamsuddin Firuz Shah the so-called Balbani king of Bengal

Our knowledge of the early history of Muslim Bengal as obtained from Persian chronicles and summarised by Stewart, was first questioned by Edward Thomas who, from the sources then known to him, reconstructed the history of what has hitherto been regarded as Balbani dynasty of Bengal. A genealogical table appended[1] to the work was revised by Thomas himself and finally presented in the following form:[2]


Sultan Balban, *Emperor of India*
Muhammad (*Shahid*)
Nasiruddin Mahmud, Bughra Khan *of Bengal*
Kai Khusru
Sultan Muizzuddin Kaikobad, *Emperor of Delhi*
Ruknuddin Kaikaus *King of Bengal*
Shamsuddin Firuz Shah, *King of Bengal*
Shahabuddin *Bughra* Shah, *King of Bengal*
Nasiruddin
Ghiasuddin Bahadur *King of Bengal*
Kutlu Khan

This table has found general acceptance since then with, of course, occasional modifications. The table was further revised by Blochman and again by Stapleton and on the evidence of inscriptions and coins the names of Hatim Khan and Jalaluddin Mahmud were added to the list of the sons of Shamsuddin Firuz.[3]

Now we shall examine the sources from which Thomas reconstructed the genealogical table. Regarding Ruknuddin Kaikaus the sources are three, numismatic, epigraphic, and literary. His coins do not mention his father's name but only the royal title of his father and

1 *JASB.*, 1867, 41; *Initial Coinage*, 45.
2 *Chronicles*, 148.
3 *JASB.*, 1873, 249; *ibid.*, 1922, 415.

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grandfather.[4] So also an inscription of his reign wherein he is described as [كيكاو]س شاه السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان[5]

The legend كيكاوس شاه بن محمود بن السلطان found on another inscription of his reign[6] is supported by Amir Khusrau who in his *Kiran-us-Sadain* mentions the name of Kaikaus as a son of Bughra Khan and a brother of Sultan Muizzuddin Kaikobad.[7] The joint testimony of these threefold sources leaves no doubt as to his parentage.

As Thomas himself admits, the sole authority for his including Shamsuddin Firuz Shah, king of Bengal, among the sons of Bughra Khan is Ibn Batuta.[8] We shall examine the accounts of that African traveller in order to see how far it can be relied upon. Ibn Batuta calls Shamsuddin a son of Bughra Khan in more than one place, in his accounts of the reign of Sultan Ghyasuddin Tughluq,[9] and of the early history of Bengal prior to his visit in 746H.[10] His statement on the point is as follows:

كانت مملكة هذه البلاد إلسلطان ناصر الدين بن السلطان غياث الدين بلبن و هو الذى ولى ولده معز الدين الملك بدهلى فتوجه لقتاله و التقيا بالنهر و سمى لقاءهما لقاء السعدين و قد ذكرنا ذلك و انه ترك الملك لولده و عاد الى بنجالة فاقام بها الى ان توفى ابنه شمس الدين الى ان توفى فولى ابنه شهاب الدين الى ان غلب عليه اخوه غياث الدين بهادرر بور فاستنصر شهاب الدين بالسلطان غياث الدين تغلق فنصره و اخذ بهادرر بور اسيرا ثم اطلقه ابنه محمد لما ملك على ان يقاسمه فنكث عليه فقاتله حتى قتله و ولى على هذه البلاد صهرا له فقتله العسكر و استولى على ملكها على شاه و هو اذ ذاك ببلاد الناكذوتى فلما راى فخرالدين ان الملك قد خرج عن اولاد السلطان ناصر الدين و هو مولى لهم خالف بسدكاوان و بلاد بنجالة و استقل بالملك و اشتدت الفتنة بينه و بين على شاه *

From the above text it emerges that Ibn Batuta had no knowledge of Kaikaus whom, we know from numismatic and epigraphic sources, as

4 *Chronicles*, 149; *JASB.*, 1867, 43; *Initial Coinage*, 46; Wright, *IMC.*, II, 147; S. Ahmad, *IMC.*, II, Suppl., 41.

5 *JASB.*, 1873, 246; *Epi-Ind-Mos.*, 1917-18, 10-11.

6 *Cunningham, Arch. Sur. Ind.*, XV, 97-98; *Chronicles*, 149; *JASB.*, 1872, 103; *JRAS.*, 1873; *Epi-Ind-Mos.*, 1917-18, 11-12.

7 Lucknow Edn., 102; Elliot, III, 530; *JASB.*, 1860, 234.

8 *Chronicles*, 193.

9 Elliot, III, 609.

10 Ibn Batuta (Def. Sang.) IV, 212.

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ruling in Bengal from 690 H[11] to 698 H[12] at least. The omission of Kaikaus's name in Ibn Batuta's accounts, wherein even Shahabuddin *Bughra* Shah with a reign period of only two years (717, 718H) is mentioned, creates a justifiable doubt as to the authority of the traveller as regards the history of the period prior to his visit. In this connection I shall quote below Gibb's English rendering of a portion of the above text (dealing with Ghyasuddin Bahadur, *Sultan* Muhammad, Ali Shah, and Fakhruddin of whom the last three were his contemporaries).

"He (meaning Ghyasuddin Bahadur) broke his promises and Sultan Muhammad went to war with him, put him to death, and appointed a relative by marriage of his own as governor of that country. This man was put to death by the troops and the kingdom was seized by Ali Shah who was then in Lakhnauti. When Fakhruddin saw that the kingship had passed out of the hands of Nasiruddin's descendants (he was a client of theirs), he revolted in Sudkawan and Bengal and made himself an independent ruler."[13]

The following analysis of this quotation will not only strengthen the suspicion but also make it clear that he cannot be relied upon except, when otherwise corroborated even for the history of the period following Shamsuddin's reign and preceding his visit:

Firstly, Tatar Khan (or Bahram Khan as he is called by the title conferred by *Sultan* Tughluq Shah) was at first something like a joint governor with Bahadur at Sonargaon and then its sole governor after the suppression of the rebellion of Bahadur.[14] Bahram was not killed by Ali Shah, but after his death the government was seized by his armour-bearer Fakhruddin who assumed the title of Mubarak Shah and declared independence.[15]

Secondly, Bahram Khan was not related to the *Sultan* (Muhammad) by marriage, but was a foster brother[16] and he was a governor of Sonargaon and not of Lakhnauti.

Thirdly, Ali Shah succeeded Qadr Khan in the government of Lakhnauti and assumed independence long after the rebellion of Fakhruddin and not that the rebellion of Ali Shah was followed by that of Fakhruddin.[17]

11 *JASB.*, 1922, 410.
12 *JASB.*, 1870, 285-86; *Epi-Ind-Mos.*, 1917-18, 13-15.
13 Gibb., *Ibn Batuta*, 267-8.
14 Banerji, *Bāṅglār Itihās*, II, 91.
15 Banerji, II, 100; Elliot, III, 242.
16 Elliot, III, 234.
17 Banerji, II, 100-104; Bhattasali, *Coins & Chronology*, 9-17.

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Lastly, the reasons ascribed by Ibn Batuta to the revolt of Fakhruddin, if taken to be true, tend to suggest that Ali Shah's predecessor namely Qadr Khan was a descendant of Nasiruddin, and this is opposed to known facts. Sovereignty had long ago passed out of the hands of Nasiruddin's descendants even if we accept Bahadur as a member of the Balbani family.[18]

All these go to show that Ibn Batuta cannot possibly be regarded as a dependable authority for this period of Bengal's history. Last of all I shall quote here the opinion of Thomas himself as to the authenticity of Ibn Batuta for our period.[19]

"Ibn Batuta himself was, however, by no means infallible; for instance on one occasion he makes Bahadur the son of Nasiruddin instead of the grandson (III, 179, 210; IV, 213). Dr. Lee's version again, in omitting the intermediate name of Nasiruddin, skips a generation and makes Shamsuddin Firuz a son of Balban, (p. 128)."

Since the very source of Thomas has been shown to be unreliable, the theory based on it *ipso facto* falls to the ground. I shall now state below a few facts which also go to strengthen my contention that Shamsuddin Firuz was not a *Balbani* king.

Though we have so far no knowledge of Nasiruddin Mahmud's coins or inscriptions we know from Zia Barani that he assumed the royal prerogatives of *Sikka* and *Khutba*.[20] Barani is supported by the coins and inscriptions of Kaikaus wherein, as we have seen above, Mahmud is called *Sultan ibn Sultan*. From the same sources we gather that Kaikaus is described as السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان Then again Shamsuddin's sons, Shahabuddin and Ghyasuddin Bahadur are described in their coins as السلطان بن سلطان[21] Even Nasiruddin Ibrahim son of Shamsuddin who was a vassal both of Tughluq Shah and of his son Muhammad Shah uses the epithet السلطان بن سلطان for himself and السلطان only[22] for Tughluq Shah and *Sultan ibn Sultan*[23] for Sultan Muhammad Shah. Bahadur also after accepting the vassalage of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq uses the royal pedigree both for himself and also for his suzerain in his coins.[24]

18 Banerji, II, 97-105.
19 *Chronicles*, 147.
20 Elliot, III, 129.
21 *Chronicles*, 197, 201; *IMC.*, II, 148.
22 *JASB.*, 1911, NS., XVI, 699; *ibid.*, 1922, 421.
23 Br. Mus. coin noticed by Stapleton, *JASB.*, 1922-424.
24 *JASB.*, 1911, NS., XVI, 699; *Chronicles*, 215; *JASB.*, 1867, 51; *ibid.*, 1922, 424.

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From the observations made above it clearly follows that the custom of using supererogatory adjuncts of royal descent, if any, was followed both for the Delhi *Sultans* as well as for the Bengal *Sultans*.

Now turning to the coins and inscriptions of Shamsuddin we find that all his coins dated from 701H to 722H[29] bear the inscription السلطان only. Thomas had no knowledge of his inscriptions, but subsequent to the publication of his contribution we have so far come across three inscriptions of his reign, viz., two in Bihar dated 709H[26] and 715H[27] respectively and one at Tribeni dated 713H[28] all of which bear the legend. السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنیا والدین ابی المظفر فیروز شاہ السلطان If Shamsuddin Firuz Shah was a son of Bughra and a brother of Kaikaus we should expect the legend السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان or at least السلطان بن سلطان in his coins or in the inscriptions of his reign. Thomas's explanation "that he felt himself sufficiently firm in his own power to discard the supererogatory adjuncts of descent or relationship, and relied upon the simple affirmation of his own position as the *Sultan* السلطان"[29] could only be valid if the customary use of adjuncts could be found at least on his earlier coins.

There is another suggestion which lends an additional support to my contention and which was first made by Rajendralal Mitra[30] and which has been merely endorsed but not taken notice of by Thomas.[31] There is a family likeness in the names of *Kaikobad, Kai Khusrau, Kai Kaus,* and *Kaiumurs* which are all borrowed from those of legendary and semi-historical Persian heroes. This family likeness again is absent in the names of Shamsuddin and his successors.

Finally, a Sylhet inscription of Husaini period mentions one فیروز شاہ دارمی[32] during whose reign Sylhet was conquered in 703H. The trustworthiness of this inscription has been established by Mr. Stapleton after a detailed discussion, but I differ from him when he says that "as the grandson of Ghyasuddin Balban he is rightly called a *Dehlawi*." I would like to suggest that if by the word دارمی we are to mean

25 *JASB.*, 1922, 411; Shillong Cab. Pl. X, No. 2; *Chronicles*, 194; *IMC.*, II, 147; *IMC.*, Supl., 41.
26 *JASB.*, 1873, 249; *Epi-Ind-Mos.*, 1917-18, 22.
27 *JASB.*, 1873, 250; *Epi-Ind-Mos.*, 1917-18, 34-35; *Epi-Ind.*, II, 291.
28 *JASB.*, 1870, 287; *JRAS.*, 1893, 373; *Epi-Ind.-Mos.*, 1917-18, 33-34.
29 *Chronicles*, 193.
30 *JASB.*, 1864, 580.
31 *Initial Coinage*, 45.
32 *JASB.*, 1922, Pl. IX, 413-14.

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Dehlawi, the inscription gives a clue as to who this Shamsuddin was and wherefrom he came. Could it not be possible that this Shamsuddin accompanied Zafar Khan with his sons, when the latter was sent by Alauddin to Oudh to collect boats for the passage of the Saraju river for his proposed march into Bengal and that Shamsuddin stayed back with his sons when Zafar Khan returned to Alauddin?[33] Firuz might have come as an adventurer to seek his fortune in Bengal as he was quite free to do it without being noticed by Delhi which was then passing through a great political crisis owing to the murder of Sultan Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji and the difficulty of Alauddin in consolidating his power at Delhi. The statement of Firishta that Ghyasuddin Bahadur was an officer of Alauddin[34] may also be considered in this connexion.

I would, therefore, like to conclude with the suggestion that Shamsuddin Firuz Shah was an adventurer and not a member of the *Balbani* dynasty and that he wrested the throne of Bengal from the last Balbani ruler Ruknuddin Kaikaus between the years 698H and 701H and founded another dynasty.

In these circumstances, the genealogical table of the Balbani rulers should be revised as follows:

Sultan Ghyasuddin Balban *of Delhi*

Muhammad, (*the Martyr Prince*)
Kai Khusrau (Balban's nominee to the Sultanate of Delhi)

Mahmud, Bughra Khan
Governor of Bengal till Balban's death
Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud *of Bengal*

Sultan Muizzuddin Kaikobad *of Delhi* (Balban's successor)
Sultan Nasiruddin Kaiumurs *of Delhi* (infant king ousted by Jalaluddin Khalji)

Sultan Ruknuddin Kaikaus *of Bengal*, ousted and possibly killed by Shamsuddin Firuz *Dehlawi* between 698H and 701H

ABDUL MAJED KHAN

33 Elliot, III, 152-53.

34 Briggs, I, 406.

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COINS OF VĪRASIMHA

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Some Old Coins Re-Discussed

I

The Coins of Vīrasiṃha

In his article entitled 'Numismatic Notes and Novelties' in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI (1897), p. 308, Mr. Vincent Smith has described a gold coin found in the Gorakhpur District, which he ascribes to a king named Vīrasiṃharāma. This coin is ·8″ in diameter and weighs 54 grains. It has on the obverse a two-line legend in Nāgarī characters which Smith read as (1) *Śrīmad-Vīra* (2) *Siṃha Rāma* and on the reverse the figure of the seated Lakṣmī[1] resembling that on the coins of the Kalacuri, Candella and Gāhaḍvāla kings. As no king of the name Vīrasiṃharāma is known from the genealogical lists of the Kalacuri, Candella, Rāṭhod or Cauhān dynasties, Smith regarded this coin as a puzzle.

The puzzle is solely due to a mistake in the decipherment of the legend, which has not been noticed so far. The facsimile of the coin printed in Pl. XXXVIII of the aforementioned volume of the *JASB.*, clearly shows the legend to be *Śrīmad-Vīrasiṃharāya*. The last *akṣara*, which is a little cramped for want of space, is clearly *ya*. *Rāya* is plainly derived from the Sanskrit *rājan* meaning a king. The coin is therefore of the king Vīrasiṃha.

As the reverse type is a close imitation of the Lakṣmī type introduced by the Kalacuri king Gāṅgeyadeva, the coin cannot be earlier than the 11th century A.D. The form of *ś* in *śrī* of the legend shows that it cannot be later than the 12th century A.D. We can therefore identify him with the king Vīrasiṃha of the Kacchapaghāta dynasty of Nalapura who is known from a copper-plate grant[2] dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1177 (A.D. 1120).

1 Rao Bahadur K. N. Dīkshit who has referred to this coin in his article 'A Gold Coin of Vīrasiṃha' (*JRASB.* for 1936, Num. Suppl. No. XLVI, p. 25) thinks that the figure is that of a male deity, holding *cakra* and *gadā* in the hands. He takes the deity to be Viṣṇu. These weapons are not clear. The signs may be intended to represent lotuses which appear clear on some coins of Gāṅgeyadeva (see Cunningham's *CMI.*, Pl. VIII, No. 1). As stated above, the figure closely resembles that on Gāṅgeya's coins, which is unanimously taken to be a representation of the goddess Lakṣmī. The use of the jewelled girdle leaves no doubt that the figure was meant to represent a female deity.

2 *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. VI, pp. 542 ff.

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Recently another gold coin of this king has come to light.[3] It is a smaller coin ·45″ in diameter and 13·8 grains in weight. It is thus a quarter-suvarṇa. It belongs to a different type as it has the legend *Śrīmad-Vīrasiṃhadeva* on the obverse and the figure of a horseman on the reverse. Rao Bahadur Dikshit thought that the two kings were not identical, because the coin of Vīrasiṃharāma(?) was found in the Gorakhpur District while that of Vīrasiṃhadeva comes from Gwalior. He has however conceded that both the kings belong to the same period, *viz.*, the 11th or 12th century A.D. We have now seen that there is practically no difference in the names of the two kings, the title *rāya* being substituted by *deva* on the smaller coin. As for the difference in type, we know that some kings of the period issued coins of more than one type. We have, for instance, gold coins of the Lakṣmī type and copper coins of the Hanumān type issued by the same king Hallakṣaṇavarman of the Candella dynasty. In the present case both the types are no doubt in gold, but that is not a sufficient reason for denying the identity of the two kings.[4] The difference in provenance can be easily accounted for, since coins are often found far away from the territory in which they were current.

II

The Coins of Vatsadāman

A gold coin of this king was first described by Prof. Rapson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1900, pp. 123ff. Recently another gold coin of the same type and fabric has been published by Mr. Allan in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fifth Series, Vol. XVII (1937), p. 99. Both these coins have the figure of a cow suckling a calf and the legend *Śrī-Vatsadāmaṇārāyaṇa*.....along the edge in characters of about the 8th century A.D. on the obverse and the figure of the god Viṣṇu trampling demons on the reverse. Rapson thought that the figure represented Viṣṇu in his Vāmana or Dwarf incarnation. He also thought it possible that this name Vāmana could be restored in the legend *Śrī-Vatsa-vāmana-*. The coin figured by Mr. Allan has however the legend Śrī-Vatsadāmaṇārāyaṇa quite clear. Besides, the figure on the reverse appears more like that of Varāha than of Vāmana. It is well known that in all representations of

3 *JRASB.*, for 1936, Num. Suppl. No. XLVI, pp. 25ff.

4 It is well known that in an earlier age several Gupta kings issued gold coins of different types.

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Vāmana[1] or rather those of Trivikrama, the right or the left foot is raised up to measure heaven. Here both the feet are put down with a demon trampled under each. I take the figure to be that of the Varāha or Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. It bears close resemblance to that of the colossal boar in one of the caves at Udayagiri. The god appears to be four-armed on these coins. The lower proper left hand is placed on the knee and perhaps supports the Earth goddess who is imperfectly seen in this specimen. The upper left arm is cut out. The lower right hand is placed on the hip like that of the Udayagiri colossus, while the upper-right hand holds a discus.

As Rapson has already stated, the style of the Nāgarī legend and the type connect this coin with the *Ādivarāha drammas* of the Pratihāra Bhoja I. The figure of the Boar is much better executed on these coins than on those of Bhoja. It also differs in certain respects from the figure on the latter coins, but there is no doubt that it was the prototype from which Bhoja's *drammas* were imitated.

The reverse type 'a cow suckling its calf' was apparently suggested by the king's name Vatsadāman. Rapson drew attention to an inscription[2] at Kāman in the Bharatpur State which mentions a prince named Vatsadāman of the Śūrasena dynasty. He has also noted that the Nāgarī letters of the inscription and the coin are not very dissimilar. But he thought that this was not sufficient to identify that prince with the striker of the coin. Since then another inscription[3] of the same dynasty dated V. 1012 (A.D. 955) was found at Bayānā in the same State of Bharatpur which has been published by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji. It mentions some later princes of the dynasty who owned allegiance to the Pratihāras of Kanauj. A third stone inscription[4] from Kāman recently edited by me mentions *inter alia* a gift of some *drammas* made by the illustrious Bhojadeva who is none other than the well known emperor Bhoja I of the Pratihāra dynasty. There is no doubt therefore that the princes of the Śūrasena dynasty who were ruling over Kāman, Bayānā and the adjoining country had submitted to Bhoja.

1 The figure cannot be a representation of Vāmana who usually appears as a dwarf with an umbrella over his head, receiving a gift from Bali. By Vāmana, Rapson perhaps meant Trivikrama.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, pp. 34 ff.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXII, pp. 120 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, vol. XIV, pp. 329 ff.

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The Kāman stone inscription of the reign of Vatsadāman, however, does not mention any suzerain and probably belongs to a time anterior to the establishment of the Pratihāras at Kanauj. It is not dated, but on palæographic grounds it was referred by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji to about the eighth century A.D. These coins of Vatsadāman are interesting as furnishing a proto-type of Bhoja's *Ādivarāha drammas*. Both these types of coins contain a representation of Viṣṇu's Boar incarnation and the legends on them clearly indicate that the strikers identified themselves with that god.[5]

The reverse type of a cow suckling its calf was continued in Rajputana. Three gold coins with this reverse type have been published. According to Mr. Ajit Ghose,[6] the legend on two of them is Śrī-Voppa or Śrī-Vopparāja. This Voppa is identified with Bappa, the founder of the Guhilaputra or Guhilot dynasty. The third coin was struck by a king named Kasava (Keśava) who is otherwise unknown.

V. V. Mirashi

5 Four silver coins of the Sassanian type with the legend Śrī-Dāma, which were found in the Pichore *Pargaṇa* of the Gwalior State, have been described by R. D. Banerji in the *An. Rep., ASI.* for 1931-14, pp. 255ff. It is not known if this Dāman belonged to the Śūrasena dynasty.

6 *Num. Chronicle*, for 1933, pp. 139 ff.

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Rāyamukuṭa's Patron

In this note, it is proposed to discuss Dr. Hazra's views (*I.H.Q.*, XVII, pp. 442-55) on a problem discussed by us simultaneously (*ib.* pp. 456-71). Dr. Hazra has evidently attempted to support a favourite theory of the late Dr. H. P. Śāstrī,[1] which is apparently untenable and in doing so he has almost fully stated the difficulties involved. Unfortunately Dr. Hazra, like the late Dr. Śāstrī, has missed the elementary point in the controversy viz. the *grammatical* construction of the verses concerned of the *Smṛtiratnahāra*. Verses 3-6 of the Introduction constitute *one* single sentence and verse 7 is a separate sentence. The principal sentence is जीयादयं स जगदत्तसुतः (v. 3), which has three dependent clauses in the three following verses viz.

यः धर्म्मसूनोरभिख्यां दधते (v. 5, दधते is from the root दध्)

यस्य काम्यं न किञ्चित् स्थितं (v. 6)

The second clause (v. 4) runs, according to Dr. Hazra's proposed solution (p. 450), as follows:—

(**यः**) जल्लालदीननृपतिः (श्रीबृहस्पतये) सैनाधिपत्यमदात् ।

This crucial verse 4 has a lacuna of 8 or 9 syllables in lines 2-3 and no ingenuity can correctly fit in the name बृहस्पति or its substitute in the gap, introducing it, as Dr. Hazra would do, most abruptly without the remotest relation with verse 7 below; neither can it be replaced here by a pronoun (तस्यै), as Dr. Hazra seems to suggest. Besides, the appositional phrase 'यः जल्लालदीननृपतिः,' where the word जल्लालदीननृपतिः of the last line of verse 4 cannot construe with the word जीयात् of the first line of verse 3, sounds wrong both in grammar and rhetoric. The only natural construction whereby the verse 4 attains 'relevance and cogency of meaning'

1 Dr. Śāstri first propounded his theory of a revival of Sanskritic culture in Bengal, after a dark age of the preceding two centuries, under Rāyamukṭa patronised by Rājā Gaṇeśa and his son in his Presidential Address at the 8th Literary Conference at Burdwan (*vide Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. 21, p. 270; 15th glory of Bengal; also *ib.*, vol. 36, p. 16 and *Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, R.A.S.B., vol. III (Smṛti), Introd., p. xx). His interpretation of the verses of the *Smṛtiratnahāra* is almost the same as that of Dr. Hazra (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. 38, p. 60), only he did not bring in Bṛhaspati in verse 4.

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makes it impossible to identify जगदत्तसुत with जल्लालदीन, the verse running (as guessed by us):—

सैनाधिपत्यमिभसैन्धवतूर्य्यशङ्ख-
छत्रावलीललितकाञ्चनरूप्य- (युक्तं ।)
(यस्मै सगौरवम) दाद् वहुभूषणञ्च
जल्लालदीननृपतिर्मुदितो गुणौघैः ॥

Dr. Hazra's arguments against the natural construction of the above verses (p. 448), like the rest of his speculations in his paper, lack soundness. He proceeds on the wrong assumption that the 'Gauḍādhipa' of the earlier works of Rāyamukuṭa is identical with the 'Gauḍāvanīvāsava' of the *Padacandrikā*. They apparently refer to different Muslim rulers of Bengal, obviously not named by the author, the last one proving now to be the famous Barbak Shah. Moreover, there was nothing to prevent a scholar, patronised by a chief, petty or big, from joining academic contests (cf. विद्वत्सभासु विनयी) and winning laurels in the royal court.

We should mention here that the name of Rāya Rājyadhara's father reads in the manuscript of the *Smṛtiratnahāra* clearly as 'Jagadatta' and not 'Jagadanta'—'tta' in v. 6 exactly agrees with 'tta' of the words 'agamattato' in v. 7. The late Dr. Śāstrī gave the correct reading in his Bengali paper, though the misreading ('Jagadanta') was inadvertently printed in the Descriptive Catalogue. Dr. Hazra failed, moreover, to notice that the title 'Rāya-Rājyadhara', like 'Rāyamukuṭamaṇi' is too petty for a paramount ruler.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

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REVIEWS

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI, 'PEPYS' OF FRENCH INDIA, by Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor, Annamalai University. Madras, 1940.

During the past few years Prof. Srinivasachari contributed to the *Journal of Indian History*, of which he is an Associate Editor, some interesting articles entitled 'The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761).' Those articles form the core of the valuable work under review. The author says, "The matter has been modified and supplemented in places so as to form a continuous narrative of the events.....The narrative of the Diarist.....has been kept up as the central core of the book; while notices of the Diarist and his other records made by several generations of scholars at Pondicherry and elsewhere have also been useful." As Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan points out, Prof. Srinivasachari has described the story of French India "with a breadth of detail and with fresh material which lift the narrative above the level of a mere compendium of Pillai's entries in his *Diary*." Those who intend to utilise Pillai's *Diary* as a source of South Indian history must constantly refer to Prof. Srinivasachari's notes. General readers will find in this compact, well-written book an interesting and authoritative account of the struggle waged by Dupleix, Bussy and Lally for the possession of India.

In the *Introduction* we find a short biography of Ananda Ranga Pillai. The Diarist's life was necessarily affected by the dramatic struggle of which he gives us so interesting a picture. The narrative is enriched by a portrait of Pillai, collected from Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil. In chapter I the author gives a detailed account of the vicissitudes through which the *Diary* passed to the stage of its translation into English under the auspices of the Government of Madras. Chapter II deals with the period 1736-1746; the Diarist's entries are very brief. Chapter III introduces us to La Bourdonnais. Sir Shaffat Ahmad's remark on this scene deserves to be quoted: "The whole forms a picture of which the lights might have been given by Rembrandt, but the outline would have required the force and vigour of Michael Angelo." Chapter IV gives a vivid account of the capture of Madras. Chapters V-VI deal with the French attacks on Fort St. David and Chapter

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VII with operations round Cuddalore and Pondicherry. Chapters VIII-XI give a stirring account of the fortunes of Chanda Sahib, 'the stormy petrel, who ascended the sky like a meteor and dropped down like a stick. In chapters XII-XIII we get a pathetic account of the last phase of Dupleix's career: the way in which he faced odds, his desperate search for allies. Pillai remarks, "How can the Governor expect success when all his actions are unjust? Victory will attend him only when his heart is right." (December 7, 1753). Chapters XIV-XV deal with the activities of Godeheu and De Leyrit. Chapter XVI deals with Bussy. Of the dramatic developments narrated in Chapter XVII the invasion of the Carnatic by the Marathas is perhaps the most interesting. The next two chapters describe Lally's desperate attempt to save the situation. Chapter XX closes with the death of the Diarist and the fall of Pondicherry.

The book contains a very exhaustive Index and a valuable map of Pondicherry and the neighbouring country.

A. C. BANERJEE

ṚGVEDASAṂHITĀ with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya vol. III. (6-8 maṇḍalas), Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona. 1941.

The authorities of the Vedic Research Institute of the Tilak Mahārāṣṭra University are to be congratulated on the publication of the third volume of the Commentary of Sāyaṇa on the *Ṛgveda*. The standard of scholarship which guided the editors in the two earlier volumes has been happily maintained in the present volume too. The lovers of Vedic studies will have genuine reasons to be thankful to the learned writers for their very laborious and careful editing of the text of Sāyaṇa which has been the very gateway of Vedic interpretation. We need not repeat all what we have said in praise of this work in course of the review of two earlier volumes in the pages of this journal. In spite of misprints which unfortunately crept in this work it will for a long time remain the standard edition of the monumental work of Sāyaṇa.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

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THE PṚTHVĪRĀJAVIJAYA OF JAYĀNAKA, with the Commentary of Jonarāja; edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gaurishankar H. Ojha and the late Pandit Chandradhar Sharma Guleri; published by Dr. G. H. Ojha, Ajmer, 1941; pages 4+11+314.

The *Pṛthvīrājavijaya,* doubtfully ascribed to Jayānaka who possibly belonged to Kashmir, is a remarkable *mahākāvya,* very valuable for the history of the Imperial Cāhamānas (Cauhāns) of Śākambharī (Sambhar) and Ajayameru (Ajmer). A Ms. of the work with Jonarāja's commentary was discovered by Bühler in 1876 in Kashmir. He published an account of the work in his *Detailed Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit Mss. made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India,* 1877, p. 63, and *Proc. A.S.B.,* April-May, 1878, p. 94. The contents of the poem were discussed by J. Morrison in *Vienna Or. Journ.,* VII, 1893, pp. 187-92, and by H. B. Sarda in *J.R.A.S.,* 1913, pp. 259-81. The work was then edited by S. K. Belvalkar in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, No. 228 (1914-22). Unfortunately there is no reference in the short preface of the work under review to the edition of Belvalkar and the paper of Morrison.

No other Ms. of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* excepting the one discovered by Bühler has as yet come to light. Bühler's Ms. is again mutilated and incomplete. The work was apparently composed in the period A.D. 1191-92, the dates of the first and second battles of Tarain, in order to immortalise the great victory of the Cāhamāna king Pṛthvīrāja III (*c.* 1179-92 A.D.) over the Muslim invader Muiz-uddīn Muḥammad bin Sam in the first battle of Tarain. In Canto X, it actually introduces the Gori (=Ghūrī, belonging to Ghūr), lord of the land of Garjana (=Ghazna) who is said to have sent a messenger to the court of the Cāhamāna king. It is however a matter of regret that the Ms. abruptly breaks towards the end of Canto XII and that the following Cantos dealing with Pṛthvīrāja's victory, which was apparently the theme of the poem, are thus lost to us.

The poor condition of the Ms. has necessarily rendered the task of the editors extremely difficult. But Dr. Ojha and Pandit Guleri must be congratulated for the excellent work they have done as regards the text of the work. They have attempted to restore the text wherever possible with the help of the commentary and have also suggested emendations of the text and the commentary in many places. The *viṣayānukramaṇī* compiled by them is also exhaustive and useful. It is however unfortunate that the

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editors have not dealt with the historical materials furnished by the poem by way of an introduction and have not appended an index to the volume.

Like all Indian *kāvyas* (including the *dṛśyakāvyas*) dealing with historical themes, the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* also contains an amount of unhistorical, imaginary or legendary element. Cantos I-II dealing with the origin of the Cāhamāna dynasty, Canto IV introducing a Vidyādhara, Canto XI, verses 25-104 representing Pṛthvīrāja as an incarnation of Rāmacandra and referring to his love for a lady who was Tilottamā in her previous birth, etc., apparently fall in the above category. But on comparison with the known facts of Cāhamāna history, it has been found that the poem contains a very considerable amount of historical truth. As was long ago pointed out by Bühler, the genealogy and general history of the Cāhamānas as given in this work contradicts Cand's *Pṛthīrāy-rāso* in every particular, but agree remarkably with epigraphic evidences. Cand's work may have had more "poetic" elements even in the original, but it appears to have received additions in succeeding ages.

It would be out of place to discuss here the history of the Cāhamānas as given in the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*. But a point regarding the history of the Kalacuris deserves special mention. Canto VII (v. 16, p. 182) of the poem refers to the marriage of Someśvara, father of the hero, while he was at the court of Caulukya Kumārapāla (*c.* 1141-73 A.D.), with the daughter of the Tripurī-purandara, i.e., the lord of Tripurī. The commentary says that Someśvara married Karpūradevī, daughter of Tejala. Sarda in his account (*J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 277) gives the name of Karpūradevī's father as Acalarāja. Just to introduce the illustrious family to which the hero's mother belongs, the poet, as do the authors of the Kalacuri epigraphs, begins with the mythical account of Candra, his son Budha and Kārtavīrya Arjuna surnamed *Kalicuri* (of which the author attempts a fantastic explanation), after whom the family was known as Kalicuri = Kalacuri. The Kalacuri kings are said to have grown powerful in the Kali age. The author then gives an account of a very great Kalacuri king of Tripurī, named Sāhasika (verses 95-112, possibly also the lost verses upto the end of the Canto). Now, the question is: who is this great Kalacuri king Sāhasika of Tripurī and who again is Tejala or Acalarāja, apparently one of the former's successors?

In this connection, a verse, the text of which is lost but the commentary with the exception of the beginning is preserved, appears to be very

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interesting. The commentary runs: ०माणवायस्स (very probably क्षीयमाणवयास्स as suggested by the editors) साहसिकस्तपस्विने वामदेवनाम्ने निजराजलक्ष्मीं गुरुदक्षिणायै दत्वा सर्वां भूमिं जेतुं प्रस्थितवान् ॥ Thus the Kalacuri king Sāhasīka of Tripurī offered his kingdom as *gurudakṣiṇā* to his *guru*, the ascetic Vāmadeva, and went out on a *digvijaya*. A few years back, on quite different grounds, I suggested (*I.H.Q.*, XIV, p. 97) that the Śaiva ascetic Vāmaśambhu was the spiritual guide of Kalacuri Karṇa (*c.* 1041-71 A.D.) and that, that is why he is the first king to have been called वामदेवपादानुध्यात in the Kalacuri records. [As regards the secular titles of Vāmadeva in inscriptions, I may now add that a Śaiva priest is called *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Vimalaśambhu or °śiva in the Mamdāpur inscription of Śaka 1172; see Fleet, *CII.*, III, p. 17, n. 3.] It is therefore very probable that the Kalacuri king Sāhasika of Tripurī mentioned in the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* is no other than Karṇa, one of the greatest amongst ancient Indian conquerors. This reference to an ascetic Vāmadeva as the *guru* of a Kalacuri king supported by the evidence of the Malkāpur inscription suggesting that the Kalacuri kings worshipped the Śaiva saint Vāmaśambhu for over 200 years apparently goes against the suggestion of Prof. V. V. Mirashi that Vāmadeva of the passage वामदेवपादानुध्यात in Kalacuri records refers to an eighth century Kalacuri king called Vāmarāja. As Someśvara's marriage took place when he was at the court of Kumārapāla (*c.* 1141-73 A.D.) and as Pṛthvīrāja III was born some time before the death of Vigraharāja IV (*c.* 1153-64 A.D.), it is possible that by *Tripurī-purandara* = Tejala or Acalarāja, the poem refers to Gayā Karṇa (*c.* 1125-55 A.D.), grandson of Karṇa.

The early Cāhamānas were apparently feudatories of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. Durlabharāja I (about the first half of the ninth century A.D.) who claims to have conquered Gauḍa (Canto V, v. 20) thus seems to have fought for the Pratihāras against the Pāla king, possibly Devapāla (*c.* 815-54 A.D.) Guvāka II (about the end of the ninth century A.D.) gave his sister Kalāvatī in marriage to a Kanauj king who was apparently a Pratihāra, possibly Mahendrapāla I (*c.* 890-910 A.D.).

The volume under review will no doubt be received favourably by all students of Rājput history.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

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ŚRĪMADBHAGAVADGĪTĀ with Sarvatobhadra of Rājānaka Rāmakaṇṭha. Edited by T. R. Chintamani M.A., Ph.D., Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras, 1941.

BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀRTHAPRAKĀŚIKĀ of Śrī Upaniṣad-Brahma with text. Edited by the Paṇḍits of the Adyar Library. The Adyar Library, Adyar, 1941.

These two volumes constitute a welcome addition to the exegetical literature on the Bhagavadgītā in spite of the fact that even the published portion of the existing literature is already extensive. The first of these contains a critical edition of Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary based on five manuscripts, four of which belong to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona and one to the India Office Library of London. Three of the manuscripts are written in Nagari and two in Sarada indicating that the latter were copied in Kashmir where the author of the commentary lived and wrote. A long and learned introduction draws attention to the characteristic features of the philosophical views of the commentator as revealed in the commentary. It also points out the textual differences from the Vulgate noticed in the so-called Kashmirian recension of the *Gītā* after comparing the texts adopted by different commentators like Rāmakaṇṭha, Abhinavagupta and Bhāskara, the work of the last of whom still exists in the form of a manuscript in the possession of the learned editor. The views of Dr. Schrader that the *Gītābhāṣya* of Śaṅkara was unknown in Kashmir up to the end of the 10th century and that Rāmakaṇṭha and Abhinavagupta were completely ignorant of the vulgate text of the *Gītā* have been successfully refuted by the learned editor with the help of appropriate extracts quoted from the commentaries of Rāmakaṇṭha and Bhāskara.

Chronologically this appears to be the third of the hitherto-known commentaries on the *Gītā* written by a Kashmirian. It is, however, the earliest published commentary of Kashmir, though the credit of first publication of the work accidentally goes to the Anandasrama of Poona, which published an edition when the present edition was, it is stated, 'half through the press.' Fortunately the latter containing as it does the results of the collation of five manuscripts and enough accessory matter in the form of a scholarly introduction and two indices, one, of the *ardhas* of the text and the other, of the citations in the commentary, is not a mere 'duplication of the former.' But it must have to be confessed that more often than not, it is the dilatoriness of scholarly institutions that encourages other publish-

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ing concerns to steal a march over them. And in the present case the University edition is claimed to have been ready for the press as early as 1935, but due to various circumstances the actual printing could not be taken up till 1939,' and presumably finished before the middle of 1941.

The second volume under review is the concluding volume of the attractive series of Upaniṣads published by the Adyar Library with the commentary of Upaniṣad-Brahma-Yogin. The reason for including the *Bhagavadgītā* in the series is that it is also regarded as an Upaniṣad. The present volume unlike its predecessors in the series has no indices and no variants are recorded. In fact no reference is made to the manuscript material utilised for the edition. No attempt is made to bring out the special features of the commentary, if any. Instead, we have a long introduction by Prof. C. Cunhan Raja, which principally discusses the problem of the extent and nature of text of the *Gītā*.

"*The Gītā*", according to the Professor, "is a unit and serves the varying needs of a suffering humanity. It is an indivisible whole, a unit."

CINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SELECT AŚOKAN EPIGRAPHS (with annotations) by Prof. Sachchidananda Bhattacharya, Chuckervertty Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta, 1941. pp. xiv + 82.

The royal edicts of Aśoka (*dhamma-lipis*, as Aśoka himself calls them) form a distinctly valuable set in the whole range of Indian epigraphs, not only because of their being the earliest among those that we have been able to decipher so far but also for the fact that they present before us the image of an emperor with an earnest solicitude for the well-being (*kayāna*) of his own subjects and of the whole mankind. Whether engraved on living rocks or on stone pillars set up for the purpose, these edicts are the words of the emperor himself, spoken with a sincerity and emotion that betray the ring of a genuine feeling and here in these epigraphs we have an indelible picture of the emperor's mind and personality, almost in the sense of a modern biography. The lofty ideal of *Dhamma-vijaya*, as inculcated in these edicts may be an aspiration for the visionary, impossible from the standpoint of practical politics. Yet, it should be remembered in these days of strife and conflict that it was this great emperor, who, for the first

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time in world's history, realised the horrors of war and, to strike the evil at the root, dreamt of a universal order based on *dhamma* and *kayāna*—an order embracing mankind. James Prinsep, by deciphering the script in which the edicts had been written, made it possible for us to know him through his own words. Since then there have been various studies on the epigraphs and their author and there is quite a fair amount of literature on Aśoka.

In this short and handy volume Prof. Bhattacharya has given us several selected epigraphs of Aśoka in translation along with notes. For this study he has selected only those that speak of definite events in the career of the emperor and has arranged them in the order in which the events took place. In his translation he follows the text of Hultzsch as presented in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I, which is no doubt a standard work. The present book is very largely in the nature of a compilation, but the author has shown his power of judgment and has not hesitated to reject the interpretation of Hultzsch, where it has been found obviously unsatisfactory, in favour of more plausible ones, put forward by other authorities. The author is frank to confess that he cannot claim any originality for his work. But it must be said to his credit that his critical acumen is evident in his notes and in his analysis of the various theories and interpretations of the different scholars.

The work under notice does not aspire to be a new or scholarly presentation of Aśoka or of his edicts and a critical review in the usual sense is not possible in this case. The book, as the author professes, is meant for undergraduate students, *vis-à-vis* the lay public. There is need for such popular studies on Aśoka and on his edicts, as it is proper and appropriate that the emperor's own words should reach the public as well as the common student. Only those epigraphs, that speak of the events in the life of the emperor have been selected for this compilation. We should remember, however, that Aśoka was a unique personality in the history of the world and a complete picture of his mind and individuality is not possible unless we have an acquaintance with all the epigraphs where materials of such a nature are available. As for example, without a knowledge of the two separate Kaliṅga edicts the emperor's solicitude for the good of the people loses its sincere and fervent tone. In our opinion hence, every epigraph bringing out one or other aspect of the special traits of his character should have been included in this compilation. The notes are

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helpful no doubt, but in a work, avowedly meant for the beginners the long discussions are sure to prove tiresome and superfluous and the space should have been better utilised if a gist of all the edicts had been appended to the volume for a better understanding of the man and his mission.

S. K. SARASWATI

THE GREAT BAHAMANI WAZIR MAHMUD GAWAN, by H. K. Sherwani, M.A. (Oxon.), Osmania University, Haidarabad. Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1942.

Professor H. K. Sherwani has written many learned papers on the Bahamani kings, and earned a well deserved reputation as a historian. Now he has presented to us his book entitled, "The Great Bahamani Wazir Mahmud Gawan".

This great personality has so far remained obscure because the historical material regarding him is scanty and scattered. To thread together the disjointed fragments of information into a continuous sketch on scientific lines is no easy task. The author deserves praise not only for making use of the valuable contemporary sources (Appendix A) but for handling the material with sound judgment and scholarship. He steers clearly and never gets lost in the mazes of controversy, yet he marshalls in full the evidence for both sides on the disputed points.

The book under review starts with an introduction covering 20 pages, giving us a picture of India about the middle of the 15th century, touching the kingdoms of Delhi, Gujrat, Malwa and some other states. It has 8 chapters with ample footnotes, and even the location of towns and villages is punctiliously given. Needless to say, the book displays on every page the author's thorough grasp of the subject of which he has an unrivalled knowledge.

Our only regret is that the author has not given a detailed account of the famous Madrassa of Mahmud Gawan and its working; not more than a page is devoted to it. A map illustrating the extent of the empire or explaining the campaigns would have enhanced the value of the book. However, the book is well got up and provided with a useful index. It is a real pleasure to handle and read it.

K. SAJUN LAL

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. V, pt. 4

P. K. Gode.—*A Rare Manuscript of the Vedabhāṣyasāra of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.* The ms. described in the note is a commentary on the *Ṛgveda* by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the well-known author of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*. The commentator professes to have based his work on the *Vedabhāṣya* of Sāyaṇācārya, but his discussions are found to be essentially grammatical. It is not known whether this ms. in 9 folios is a complete work by itself or is a fragment of a larger commentary.

Madhava Krishna Sarma.—*Date of Mādhavasarasvatī: Its bearing on the dates of Rāmacandra and Viṭṭhala—New light on the much debated date of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.* The ms. of a work by Mādhavasarasvatī, entitled *Prakriyāsudhā,* a commentary on the Sanskrit grammar *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra is found deposited in the Adyar Library. Rāmacandra is known to have flourished in the latter half of the 14th century and his grammar had been commented upon by his grandson Viṭṭhala in the first half of the 15th century. From the fact that this commentary of Viṭṭhala, called *Prasāda* has been drawn upon in the *Prakriyāsudhā,* as pointed out here, and also from the details given in other works of Mādhavasarasvatī, he is assigned to the latter half of the 15th century. Rūpa Gasvāmin, "the flourishing period" of whose literary activity falls between 1533 and 1550 A.C. ascribes in his *Padyāvalī* a verse to Mādhava. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī also mentions his guru as bearing the name of Mādhava. The writer of the note is inclined to identify these Mādhavas.

Serial Publications.—The following pieces continue in this issue.

Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra with Devasvāmibhāṣya.

Jīvānandanam of Ānandarāya Makhin.

Saṃgītaratnākara with the commentaries of Caturakallinātha and Siṃhabhūpāla.

Śrī Pāñcarātrarakṣā of Vedānta Deśika.

Nyāyakusumāñjali of Udayanācārya.

Āpastambasmṛti.

Vaiṣṇavopaniṣads—(Garuḍa Up. and *Gopālatāpanī Up.* translated into English).

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Acyutarāyābhyudaya of Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima.

Ālambanaparīkṣā and Vṛtti of Diṅnāga with the Commentary of Dharmapāla (translated into English).

Annals of Oriental Research, vol. VI (1941-42), part 1

K. RAMAKRISHNAYYA.—*Dravidian Phonetics.*

P. KRISHNAN NAIR.—*Dhvanyāloka—Identity of Authorship.* In this article in Malayalam evidence has been adduced from works like the *Locana, Vyaktiviveka, Kāvyamīmāṃsā* and *Abhinavabhāratī* to show that both the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti* of the *Dhvanyāloka* are by Ānandavardhanācārya.

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Notes on Kālidāsa:* (1) The Bharatavākya in the *Mālavikāgnimitra.* (2) Allusions to Agnimitra in the Works of Kālidāsa. (3) Titles of the Works of Kālidāsa.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*Minor Works wrongly ascribed to Ādi Śaṅkara.* The *Sarvavedāntasiddhāntasārasaṃgraha* is not a composition of the great Śaṅkarācārya. Its author is Sadānanda, who lived in the latter half of the 15th century. The *Prabodhasudhākara* also is not a work of Śaṅkara, its author being one Daivajña Sūryapaṇḍita of the 16th century.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 61, no. 3 (September 1941)

W. RUBEN.—*The Kṛṣṇacarita in the Harivaṃśa and certain Purāṇas.* The purpose of the paper is to show that the original supplement (*khila*) to the *Mahābhārata* was much shorter than the *Khila Harivaṃśa* now current

H. M. JOHNSON.—*Grains of Mediæval India.* The different kinds of grains described here are found mentioned in the works of the Jain authors Nemicandra and Hemacandra.

Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. VI, nos. 2-3

BRAJENDUSUNDAR BANERJEE.—*The Daughter's Son in the Bengal School of Hindu Law.* The position of the daughter's son in respect of his right of succession as recognised in treatises of the Bengal School of Smṛti has been discussed in the paper.

RAMA DHARI SINGH.—*Social, Economic and Cultural Life in the Republics of Ancient India.*

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U. N. Day.—*The Provinces of the Delhi Sultanate.* It deals with the types of provinces grown under the Sultans of Delhi and the system of administration prevalent there.

A. S. Altekar.—*The Conception and Ideals of Education in Ancient India.* Discussions have been introduced and Sanskrit texts quoted to show that "infusion of a spirit of piety and religiousness, formation of character, development of personality, inculcation of civic and social duties, promotion of social efficiency by the proper training of the rising generation in different branches of knowledge and the preservation and spread of national culture may be described as the chief aims and ideals of ancient Indian education."

R. B. Pandey.—*Atharvavedic Conception of the Motherland.* The wide earth in the hymns of the *Atharvaveda,* with people and organisations, and flora and fauna, producing the necessities of life, possessed of rivers and mountains is conceived as mother (माता भूमिः).

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
vol. XXVII, part, IV (December, 1941)

A. Banerji-Sastri.—*A Bronze Buddha from Mandalay in Patna Museum.*
Water Ruben.—*On Garuḍa.*

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XVII, 1941

P. K. Gode.—*Viśvanātha Māhadeva Rānaḍe, a Cittapāvan Court-poet of Raja Ramsing I of Jaipur and his Works—between A.D. 1650 and 1700.*

Jounal of the Bombay Historical Society, vol. VI, nos. 1 & 2 (1941)

B. A. Salatore.—*The Age of Guru Akalaṅka.* The celebrated Jain savant Akalaṅka has been assigned to the 8th century A.C.

Journal of the Music Academy, Madras, vol. XI, pts. I-IV

T. V. Subba Rao.—*Karṇāṭaka Composers.* The Dāsakūṭa singers of Karṇāṭaka are said to have contributed much to the development of the Kīrtana variety of emotional songs. Of the many important Dāsakūṭa composers, some of whom became also teachers of Vedānta and Bhaktimārga, Acalānandadāsa, Narahari Tīrtha, Śrīpādarāja, and Vyāsarāya have been dealt with in this paper.

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B. SITARAMA RAO.—*Śrī Purandara Dāsa.* This discourse given on the day celebrated in honour of Purandara Dāsa, the greatest of the Dāsakūṭas of Karṇāṭaka stresses the importance of the religious movement of the Dāsas as preaching the Bhakti cult in the country.

T. L. VENKATARAMA IYER.—*The Scheme of 72 Melas in Carnatic Music.*

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI.—*Caturdaṇḍī in Karṇāṭa Music.*

G. H. RANADE.—*The Naṭī's Song in the Prelude to the Abhijñānaśakuntala of Kālidāsa.* The writer thinks that the Rāga concept was in vogue in the days of Kālidāsa and that the Naṭī's song in the drama *Abhijñānaśakuntala* had been cast in the 'Sarang' Rāga.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. VII, No. 2 (1941)

M. E. AND D. H. GORDON.—*The Rock Engravings of the Middle Indus.* A number of rocks situated in an area surrounding a stretch of the Middle Indus near the Attock Bridge shows a mass of miscellaneous engravings—human and animal figures, bullock carts, various symbols and inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī. The engravings which are very crude in workmanship and the two inscriptions which read respectively a-so-ra-ṭi-re-(te) and (ra)-ṣa-pa-la-sa suggest their dates in the early Śaka period near about the beginning of the Christian era.

S. N. CHAKRAVARTI.—*The Sohgaura Copper-plate Inscription.* The inscription containing four lines of writing in Brāhmī character has been edited with comments.

P. C. SENGUPTA.—*Time Indications in the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra.* Discussions in the paper lead to the conclusion that "the mean date for the Baudhāyana rules for sacrifices should be taken as the year 887-86 B.C."

P. C. MAJUMDAR.—*Some Dates in the Pāla and Sena Period.* Doubts have been expressed about the correctness of the dates of the following inscriptions as read by previous scholars:

() Nālandā C. P. of Devapāla, (2) Jayanagara Image Ins. of Madanapāla, (3) Bajilpur Sadāśiva Image Ins. of Gopāla III, (4) Barrackpur C. P. of Vijayasena, (5) Two Imadpur Image Ins. of Mahīpāla.

The dates found in the first three inscriptions have been read afresh and corrected.

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Journal of the Sind Historical Society, vol. V, No. 4 (February, 1942)

B. D. MIRCHANDANI.—*Some References to Sind in a Chinese Work of the 13th Century.*

N. N. BILLIMORIA—*Was Akbar Literate?* The paper concludes "Akbar not only knew Persian, but could also follow Arabic, Sanskrit and Hindi."

Journal of the Thailand Research Society, vol. XXXIII, pt. II (November, 1941)

J. J. DE CAMPOS.—*The Origin of the Tikal.* The term *tical* still in use in Thailand to designate the Thai unit of currency *baht* is connected with the Peguan *tical* which again is an adaptation of the Indian term *ṭaṅka* called *ṭākā* in Bengal.

Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, vol. XIV, part II (December, 1941)

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI.—*Practical Aspects of Education in Ancient India.* Details of the working of the Indian educational system in the 7th century A.C. as can be gathered from the records left by Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing have been given in the paper. The points discussed include the curriculum of study followed in the University of Nālandā and the agricultural operations carried out for its maintenance.

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*Trade and Commerce from Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī.* Terms used and practices referred to in Pāṇini's Sūtras show that he was acquainted with a wide sphere of trading and commercial activities of the people of his time.

B. S. UPADHYAYA.—*The Date of Kālidāsa.* Kālidāsa is assigned to the Gupta period between A.C. 375 and 445.

P. K. ACHARYA.—*Maya Architecture of Central America.* Maya is the master architect mentioned in Indian literature and several treatises on architecture are ascribed to him. The Mauryan buildings are supposed to have been constructed according to the principles laid down by the Maya school. Several structures discovered in Maya settlement of Central America also lead to the supposition that they were connected with the same Indian school of architecture.

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Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. X, part 4 (January, 1942)

A. G. PAWAR.—*Nadir Shah.—From Some Original English Records.* The description of events in India, Persia and Afghanistan, as they occurred or as they were reported to the English, and put in record in letters and diaries throws much light on the life and history of Nadir Shah.

New Indian Antiquary, vol. IV, No. 12 (March, 1942)

SADASHIVA L. KATRE.—*Śāstratattvanirṇaya: The Works and its Author.* The *Śāstratattvanirṇaya* is a metrical work in Sanskrit by Nīlakaṇṭha Gore composed in Benares about a century ago for the refutation of the doctrines of Christianity and the defence of the tenets of Hinduism. Contents of the work have been described and an account of the author's conversion to Christianity afterwards has been given.

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A SHORT HISTORY
OF
THE ORIGIN AND RISE OF THE SIKHS

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION
WITH
AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
OF THE
HAKIKAT-I BINĀ WA 'URUJ-I FIRKAH-I SIKHĀN

BY
INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

CALCUTTA
1942

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A Short History of the Origin and Rise of the Sikhs

Introductory

The *Hakikat-i Binā Wa 'Uruj-i Firkah-i Sikhān*, or a short history of the origin and rise of the Sikhs, is an R. A. S. manuscript (Morley Catalogue, No. 83) consisting of 19 folios, well-written in *Shikastah Āmiz*. It was written two years after the conquest of Multān by Timur Shāh Abdāli, or in other words, in 1783. The work has been ascribed to Timur Shāh himself, and, as such, must be regarded as one of considerable importance. Timur Shāh was the governor of the Panjāb for about one year, from May 1757 to April 1758 and must have had an intimate knowledge of all his father's adventures in Hindusthān. It will thus be seen that, so far as the history of the Sikh struggle for independence in its most intense phase, as well as the history of the Panjāb in general, from after the days of Nādir Shāh, is concerned, the *Hakikat* must be regarded as one of the most authoritative sources of information, particularly as it provides us with contemporary Afghān evidence. It is sketchy no doubt and sometimes skips over important details but, nevertheless, its corroborative value is great. On the whole, it is a sober and accurate record and tallies in essentials with authorities like Mishkin. But it has one great defect. It does not give us a single date and the chronology of events narrated in the work has to be gathered from other sources.

Unfortunately, however, it appears that, so far as the earlier phases of Sikh history are concerned, the author had no reliable evidence to guide him, and his narrative is marred by obvious confusions and chronological absurdities. As will appear from the translation that follows, our author splits the career of Guru Tegh Bahādur into two parts—the first ending with his discomfiture at the hands of the Faujdārs of Aurangzib and his flight to the jungly tract between Shāhjahānābād and Lahore; and the second beginning with his journey to Shāhjahānābād after the accession of Bahādur Shāh to the throne of Delhi and ending with his death. Guru Tegh Bahādur was executed in 1675, whereas Bahādur Shāh ascended the throne after Aurangzib's death in 1707, and thus it is clear that our author has made a confusion between Guru Tegh Bahādur and Guru Gobind Singh.

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who, as we know from other sources, had actually accompanied Bahādur Shāh to Delhi after the battle of Jajau, in which also he had participated in the new Emperor's favour. Similarly, the reforms that Guru Gobind Singh introduced in 1699, bringing the Khālsā into existence, are brought down to the reign of Bahādur Shāh and are attributed to Guru Tegh Bahādur. No doubt, it sometimes does happen that a more distinguished successor appropriates so completely the work begun by a predecessor that, in course of time, no evidence regarding the contributions of the latter remains available, but, in this instance, the confusion of our author is so patent that no such explanation seems called for.

Again, it will be seen that the *Hakikat* places practically the whole of the active career of Guru Gobind Singh in the reign of Bahādur Shāh, whereas, in reality, the Guru lived only the last year of his life in that reign. Here again, it is clear that our author makes a confusion between the adventures of Guru Gobind Singh and those of Banda. The military exploits of Banda are marked by a gap and thus falls into two distinct periods—the earlier in the reign of Bahādur Shāh and the later in the reign of Farrukh-siyar. Bahādur Shāh returned from his Rājputānā campaign to chastise Banda and not Guru Gobind Singh, who was then dead, and it is obvious that our author has foisted the earlier adventures of Banda on Guru Gobind Singh.

But the curious thing is that if this is borne in mind and the necessary corrections effected, the account of the *Hakikat* agrees, on the whole, tolerably well with what we get from other sources. It is, no doubt, true that, in the matter of Guru Tegh Bahādur's differences with Aurangzib's Government, the *Hakikat* does not agree with the accepted Sikh tradition but it should be remembered that in doing so it does not stand alone. That there was another tradition with regard to the matter, similar to that which our author narrates, is clearly proved by the remarks of Ghulam Husain in his *Siyar-ul-mutakhkharin*[1] as also by some of the Sikh *Sākhīs*.[2] In short, considering the fact that with regard to the history of the earlier phases of Sikhism, we are constantly handicapped by the dearth of reliable records, we think that, inspite of its confusions and palpable errors, the *Hakikat*, if used with caution, might yet be of some value to us.

1 English translation R. Cambray & Co., vol. I, p. 85.
2 Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 593.

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Translation of the Hakikat

During the reign of His Majesty the world-conquering Zahir-ud-dīn Muhammad Bābur Pādshāh, a man, belonging to the Khatri clan, a well-known class among the Hindus, served as an accountant. God had given him the attributes of a saint. Giving up the ways of earning he chose the path of solitude and became famous in the name of Nānak Shāh. He introduced a system which was hitherto unknown among the Hindu nation and many men assembled around him and became believers in him. He also wrote a book on the unity of the Godhead and the book is known as the Granth. And always being absorbed in the remembrance of God and having in his mind joy and intoxication, he passed his days alone. A musician named Mardānā was always present before him. Whatever Nānak wrote in Panjābī in his state of ecstasy the musician gave tune to them and played them on the *Rabāb* and at this Nānak was pleased. Now, the *Nānakpanthīs,* who are a group among the followers of Nānak, lived in the garb of *faqirs* and they sang the exalting sayings of Nānak as a daily rite when four watches of the night still remained and played the *Rabāb,* and they called those sayings in their idiom as *Sabad.* On the whole, Nānak passed his whole life like a devotee, in seclusion, in the worship of God. In his religion there is very little prejudice against the Mussalmāns, nay, they have practically no prejudice against any nation.

After the death of Nānak a *darwesh* named Angad was installed in his place and followed his path. In Nānak's path, in all worship humility is given the first place. They regarded as the basis of their lives' work the knowing of everything in this world as the vehicles of God's manifestation and not to reckon anything as different from God. After Angad Amar Dās, and after him Rām Dās, and after him Arjun, and after him Hargobind, and after him Har Rāy, and after him Har Kishan, and after him Guru Tegh Bahādur, who was the ninth successor from Nānak, sat on the *masnad* to direct (the followers). In the meantime believers and followers grew largely in number. In their idiom *Guru* is the equivalent of *murshid* (مرشد) and in the language of the Panjāb a *murid* (مرید) is called *Sikh.* In the time of Tegh Bahādur a vast crowd assembled around him.

It was the reign of His Majesty, whose place is in heaven.[3] Orders were issued to the Subahdārs and Faujdārs for applying themselves to the

3 Evidently Aurangzib is meant.

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performance of the injunctions of the true religion and to destroy the temples and the idols of the opposed party and the rebellious (i.e., the unbelievers). If the officers did not follow the principles of the *Shariat* they were dismissed. And every year the Sadr-ul-Sadur, calling to his presence the ecclesiastical and civil officers, placed in their hands the authoritative books and asked the meaning of (passages from) them. If they could explain the thing properly according to its true essence it was all right, otherwise other persons were appointed in their places. When the news of many people assembling (around Tegh Bahādur), of the founding of a new religion, and of the faith of the Zamindars in Tegh Bahādur, reached the holy ears, orders were issued to the effect: "If, as previously, like the poor *Nānakpanthī faqirs,* you live peacefully in a corner, no harm will befall you. On the contrary, alms, suitable for your maintenance in the style of *faqirs,* would be given to you from the State treasury, just as in the case of other prayer-offering groups. *'In this free dinner-table of mine friends and foes are all alike.'* But the horses and arms, and the equipment of your retinue that you have gathered in your places of worship must be removed." Accordingly, the Faujdār of Sarhind intimated this order (to Tegh Bahādur). Before the proud and virile disciples who had assembled there, Tegh Bahādur said defiantly: "We are *faqirs;* what God has given us, why should we return? We are living in our own shelters, why should you harm us?" On this point arose a great contention, which ended in war and Tegh Bahādur was driven out of that place by force.

Tegh Bahādur took up his residence in the jungly country between Shāhjahānābād and Lahore and passed his days in anxiety. The horses, the attendants and the other things that he had brought with him were destroyed. The believers came to him stealthily and gave him whatever was possible. He turned his own favourites into (so many) mad men; for example, sometimes a horse was put before him and shot at with his own hands. Sometimes some one among the companion Sikhs was called and told: "Who is there among you who wants to reach Guru Nānak?" The said man came, uttering *Wāh-guru,* and stood before him, and after filling his gun he (Tegh Bahādur) fired at him and killed him. His friends burnt him in fire. And whoever died in the hands of Guru Tegh Bahādur was called Shahidi Singh and their descendants also had the same title. The booty and the offerings that were given by the followers were divided into three shares—the first share was given to the descendants of Nānak who were called Sāhibzādah;

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and the descendants of the successors of Nānak were known as the *Bhallah* and the second share was given to them, and the third share was fixed in the name of the Shahidi Singhs.

At that time Tegh Bahādur very often spoke in the words of a mad man and those words of his, which proved true to facts, became the cause of the increase in the belief of the illiterates. As for example, the Sikhs were told: "Now it seems, rather it is ordained, that the hawks must be hunted by the sparrows"; that is, disgrace will reach the nobles from the lowly tribes and this the disciples regarded as a glad tidings for them. It was ordered: "You should now wear weapons, and worship iron and love it, because this iron will take you to a high position." For this reason, it became necessary for them to keep iron bangles or chains in their hands or their turbans (they were told:) "Whoever might join you from whichever tribe, don't have any prejudice against him and without any superstition eat together with him." Now this is their custom. Calling his troops by the name of *dal* he called the whole nation by the name of the *Khālṣah*. The reason for this was that when the order of the Faujdār, "You leave the *Khālṣah Sharifah,*" came, they decided: "We are the *Khālṣah;* nay, we are the essence of the whole world." He told his own men: "You should adopt some sign which will distinguish you and the other troops. Men cut their hairs, you don't cut yours; and don't lessen your beards and don't cut hairs of your armpit and other parts." This nation entertains a great hatred for the hubble-bubble; they call hubble-bubble by the name of *beṣerah*. And they call *bhang* by the name of *sukhiā* and in the Hindi language *sukh* means *ārām*. And they drew (smoked?) this with great eagerness. There are no women in their troops. From those who keep women a tax is taken but if they are kept at home then there is no harm. Every one of them has many beautiful boys with him. Every one of the boys is a horseman and a matchlockman and is well-dressed. They serve their masters in daytime and at night they themselves are served by their masters. And after their death, they become their heirs, owners of their troops and attain to their position.

In an ecstatic mood Tegh Bahādur wrote to Sultān Muazzim: "You will become Pādshāh." In the reign of His Majesty, whose place is in Heaven, that is, Bahādur Shah, who was called Sultān Muazzim as a Prince, Tegh Bahādur came to Shāhjahānābād, and the Emperor, according to his promise, gave him a grant of a few villages for his expenses. Again

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he went to Lahore and men in large batches began to come to him and many Zamindārs and poor men and rogues of that district entered the ranks of his disciples. In a few days Tegh Bahādur attained a perfect position and and the manner of the foundation of a new religion was manifested. Every one among the Hindus, whether he was a Khatri, the principal among them (Sikhs), or a Jāt, who are numerous in that country, and carpenters, blacksmiths, cultivators, grain-grocers, businessmen, all came and said: "I am becoming a Sikh of the Guru." Then some sweets were requisitioned and he signalled a man to get up and perform *ardās !* The man read something in the Panjābī language. This they called *ardās!* It seems that they heard the word '*arzdsat*' (عرضداشت) from the mouth of the Mughals and they made this into *ardās*.[4] And after that a sword, or a dagger or a knife or anything of the class of weapons was placed in those sweets and Kolī, Jāt and persons wearing the sacred thread, all ate it together. And what was left was called *parsād*. In their idiom *parsād* is equivalent of tabarruk (تبرک). In place of *salām 'alaik* (peace be upon you) they said; "*Wāh-guru kā Fatah*." (Lord's be the victory). In the time of battle they always uttered the word "*Wāh-guru*". When they drew the the reins of their horses they uttered "*Wāh, wāh*" and dishevelled the hairs of their heads.

At last in a few days Tegh Bahādur died and Gobind sat in his place and began to create troubles. The Faujdārs of that side wanted to remove the troubles. Gobind also became ready with his party and began to harass the towns and villages and took to plunder. He also began to plunder the parganahs. In two or three battles they became victorious. Gobind reached the tract of Doāb which is a well-known place in the *sarkār* of Lahore and one side of which is attached to the northern hills, of which the Rājahs are subordinate and tributary to that Faujdār. And there is a place named Mākhowāl which he fortified and a crowd of horsemen and foot-soldiers assembled around him. After capturing the Doāb they began to plunder the whole country and set fire to the villages, killed the inhabitants and made prisoners of them. And placing the children of Mussalmāns on the heads of spears exhibited them to their parents. Whoever said "*Wāh-guru*"

4 *Ardās* means supplication. Specifically it means the prayer which the Sikhs repeat after the completion of the morning and evening obligatory divine services and of the uninterrupted reading or chanting of the Granth Sāhib. (Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol. V. pp. 331, 332).

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was released, otherwise he was killed. And the Sikhs promulgated the path of robbery wherever they were in the Subah of Lahore.

In the meanwhile,[5] Bahādur Shah became ready for the proper chastisement of Rājah Jay Singh and Rājah Ajit Singh because some offences on their part had come to light. At the time of crossing the river Narbadā the two Rājahs fled towards Udaipur, which was the residence of the Rānā. The Rānā regarded the arrival of these two men, none of whom had ever come to his city, and who, on the other hand, had tried to devastate his country according to the orders of the Pādshāh, as a gracious good fortune, and married two of his daughters with the two Rājahs. The Pādshāh himself went to the country of Dhandhār and the city of Amber, which is the capital of that country, and just below the side of which Jaynagar has now been built and where the Rājah of Kachwāhah lives, and bringing them into occupation, wanted to give proper punishment to these two Rājahs.[6]

(About this time) the news of this occurrence (in the Panjāb) reached the holy ears and the Emperor himself turned towards that country. Strong troops had already started. One or two battles they fought like heroes. Guru Gobind fled and took shelter in the hills. And wherever Sikhs were found, orders were to the effect that they were to be killed without question. The Sikhs, cutting the hairs of their head without any hesitation, began to merge themselves with the people, and hid themselves in the work of cultivation. Excepting the place of Mākhowāl, where Guru Gobind lived, Sikhs were to be found nowhere in the whole Subah; even if they were, they passed their days like *Nānakpanthī faqirs*. For several months Gobind Singh fought with the Faujdār of the Doāb from the crude fort which he had built at Mākhowāl. At last, his provisions diminished, his men deserted, and one night among the nights, Gobind fled away. And, nominating one man in his place, kept him engaged in war and said: "Entering into negotiations for peace, hand over the place to them and say, "I am Gobind Singh." Accordingly in this manner, the envoy came out of the fort and said: "Gobind Singh wants promise of safety and is giving up the place." When the Faujdār heard this, he asked whether

5 The construction of the sentence is such that a literal translation has not been possible.

6 The reference here is, no doubt, to Bahādur Shāh's second invasion of Rajputānā which took place in 1710. (Irvine, *Latin Mughals*, vol. I, pp. 71-73).

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he was accepting Islam, otherwise it would be seen where he would remain living. He did not agree. The Faujdār's men continued the fight, captured the fort and imprisoned the man whom he (Gobind) had stationed there. Under the impression that Gobind Singh had been captured drums of rejoicing were beaten. When they (Faujdār's men) brought him before the Faujdār and interrogated him, it was learnt that the man, who had been captured, was an impostor. The Faujdār asked: "Why did you do this?" He said: "For saving the life of the Guru I did this, so that I may die but my Guru will live."[7] The Faujdār then and there sent him to the house of hell. After that the Sikhs, in every parganah, at intervals of one or two years, assembling in batches of one hundred or two hundred, created disturbances and plundered the merchants and the travellers. They also attacked helpless villages. When the news of these disturbances reached the Faujdār, they were hunted out and wherever found killed and those that remained cut their hairs and became merged in the people (in general).

In this manner the time of Farrukh-siyar came. In the reign of Farrukh-siyar a Sikh named Banda made his appearance and in the very beginning he started robbery and opened his hands in looting the villages. Wazir Khān, the Governor of Sarhind, being helpless, sent a petition to the Emperor detailing these events. The Faujdār of the Doāb was ordered to bring proper chastisement. When the Faujdār pursued them they fled in other directions; many sorts of men assembled around him and things came to such a pass that the Faujdār and the inhabitants all became helpless. When many plunderers assembled together they destroyed many people. And when the Faujdār reached near them they disappeared among the people and Banda fled to the hilly country. When his troops became more powerful he went towards the jungle. Once taking a direct route, halting at every *kos*, Banda together with his party, his horsemen and foot-soldiers arrived at the Qasbah Tālwarry, which was at a distance of six halts from Shāhjahānābād. Before this news came out, he again returned towards Sarhind. At that time the *Waziri* and the *Amir-ul-Umāri*, were connected with the Bārah Sayyids. As they were famous for bravery they wrote to

7 According to Sikh tradition this incident happened at Chāmkaur and not at Mākhowāl. According to Macauliffe, Sant Singh was the name of the man who was left in the fort. "The Guru gave his plume to Sant Singh, clothed him in his armour, and seated him in the upper room he was about to vacate." Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 190.

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the Subahdār of Lahore to the effect: "So long as you do not capture this *Kafir* you will have no place in this *darbār;* on the contrary, it will be a cause of offence on your part." Abdus Samad Khān was the Subahdār of that place. He kept as his Wazir a man from Afghanistān, who was the Pādshāhzādā of Turān and who was a close relation of Nawab Muhammad Amin Khān, father of Nawab Itimād-ud-daulah Qamruddin Khān, and maintained as servants with him many Mughals of Afghanistān. He sent all these men to uproot the party, (Banda's) and driving him from the whole *Subah* again forced him into the *Doāb;* all ingress and egress was stopped and he was reduced to the extremity of hopelessness. But the order of the Sayyids to capture the scoundrel came again and again, and at last after a year he was captured and many people were killed in these battles. A crude fort, which is called *ghaddi* in Hindi, was made strong and a gun of tamarind wood was made and used for a long time and at last it burst. After the cutting off of provisions (attempts were made) to tempt the Sikhs towards Islam but they refused. Till at last all were captured. Binding their necks with chains and putting them on camels (they) sent them to the Emperor's *darbār*. One thousand six hundred men came to Shāhjahānābād with Banda.

The Emperor's order was issued to keep them prisoners in the yard of the *Kotwāli*. And every day a batch of one hundred was brought out and each was told that if he became a Mussalmān he would be released, (but) they never agreed and every one was killed. In these discussions if there was delay, the Sikhs used to tell the executioner: "Oh cuckold! make haste; my companions have gone and I am waiting." Till one day, at the time of killing a boy who was thirteen years old and who was very beautiful, the *Kotwāl* stopped (the executioner) and, calling him to his presence, said: "I am acknowledging you as my son, and applying to the Emperor. I am reprieving your death sentence." Although he was vigorously pressed, he did not agree and said: "Kill me quickly." For one day the execution was kept in abeyance and the news was taken to the Emperor. Orders were issued that if he embraced Islam his death sentence might be pardoned. Otherwise, "to kill the serpent and let go its young ones is not the work of wise men," as Shaikh Sādi said. At last, he, too, was killed. In this way the whole (of the votaries) of this bad religion got the punishment of their own deeds. From morning till sunset the men of the city came for this show; especially the inhabitants of the tracts near about, who

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had suffered much in the hands of these men, came and became very pleased and expressed their detestation of them; and offered prayers for the Emperor. In this manner the turn of Banda, the evil-doer, came. He was taken over the whole town and drums were beaten and afterwards he was killed in front of the *Kotwāli* yard. Taking the order of the Emperor those Sikhs, who were shopkeepers and grocers in the city, took the death body of Banda outside the city, near Bārahpalah, which is a well-known place. The reason for this name is that the water of the rains went by that place like a flood, and for heavy rains the road for coming and going was closed. Over that ditch, that is the path of the flood, a bridge was built with bricks and stones with twelve porches for the water to pass, and for this reason it was called Bārahpalah. In the Hindi language *Jasr* (جسر) is the name of bridge. In short, in that place, in black earth, the black-hearted man was interred.[8] Now the Sikhs go there at intervals of eight days. Nawab Abdus Samad Khān, as a reward for this quick service, got a *mansab* of 6000, a bedecked *pālki,* elephants, horses, ornament of gold, jewels worn in the turban, a turban bedecked with gold, upper garment, a pearl necklace, and a few parganahs as *jāgir* in the province of the Panjāb. During his governorship the administration reached perfection and the leading Zamindārs paid their due tributes and presented their own daughters as presents. After this, for some time, the trouble from the Sikhs was entirely absent.

After the death of Abdus Samad Khān the *Subahdāri* of Lahore was given to his son Zakariyā Khān and his marriage was settled at Shāhjahānābād with the sister of Nawab Itimād-ud-daulah Qamruddin Khān and he was given the title of Khān Bahādur. And the people in his days became very much contented, the price of grains became very low, the sepoys had enjoyment of life, and men passed their days in ease and safety. Thieves and robbers became extinct. From Kābul to Lahore and from Lahore to Shāhjahānābād the business of buying and selling of the merchants was very brisk. Many of the learned and the scholars, and the saints got daily and monthly stipends. Twenty thousand horsemen, Mughal and Hindusthāni, were always attached to his stirrup. Nobody was allowed to go beyond his

8 The execution of the Sikhs commenced on the 5th of March, 1716 (O.S.). Banda himself was executed together with his son on the 19th of June, 1716 (N.S.). The letter written by John Surman and Edward Stephenson to the Governor and Council of Fort William in Bengal explains the motive for this de'ay. (Ganda Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur,* pp. 224-234).

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proper limits and everybody, in proper manners and right path, remained steady and dutiful. A wonderful time passed, which, for the people of Lahore, is memorable.

After this the rumour that Nādir Shāh was coming became very strong. Many letters came from the Khān Bahādur to the *darbār* to the effect that reinforcements should be sent so that he might combine with the *Subahdār* of Kābul, but there was hesitation. In the meanwhile, Nādir reached the Khaibar. The Khān Bahādur wrote that as Nādir Shāh had crossed the Khaibar he could do nothing. Nobody took his words sensibly. The more Asaf Jāh prayed that the Emperor himself should go to Lahore or the situation would become critical, Khān Daurān said: "The Turānis are all confederates and false news come; if Nādir really come, I shall lead the horsemen." At last, the Afghān officers closed the Khaibar Pass, which was a very strong place, and petitioned to the Emperor but without result. And one of the Varakjye Afghāns went to Nādir Shāh and showed him the way. Without letting them know he reached Khaibar Kotla. The said Afghān had enmity with the *Sardār* of his tribe and he took Nādir Shāh's men in an unknown way in such a manner that the whole Varakjye clan was decimated. The children and women became prisoners in the hands of the Qizilbāshes. In one march Nādir Shāh passed Peshāwar and reached the river of Attock. Coming out with his troops the Khān Bahādur prepared for war. The Mughals, who were with him, said: "It is known that you would get a good reception at the hands of Nādir Shāh; it is better that you stand aside, or go over to Nādir Shāh." The Khān Bahādur accepted none of these proposals. In the meantime terms came from Nādir Shāh to the effect: "You are a Mussalmān and the inhabitants of this country are very pleased with you; I want that you are not harmed in any way. If you give me passage I will go to Hindusthān. If I win victory the whole country[9].....if I be defeated, it is the will of God. But when I return you would not put opposition." In reply the Khān Bahādur said: "If no harm befalls my country and if my prestige does not suffer, I agree to this." Accordingly, when the Shāh came near, the Khān Bahādur met him, and Nādir Shāh dismissed him with honour and Lahore remained in the hands of the Khān Bahādur. He had two sons, one Yahiyā Khān and the second Iqtadār-ud-daulah.[10] Nādir Shāh wanted

9 The manuscript is blurred here and could not be deciphered.

10 According to other authorities the name of the second son was Hayātullah

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the younger son to be his companion, gave him the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān, took him with himself and finished the affair of Hindusthān. On his way back also Nādir Shāh came to Lahore and treated the Khān Bahādur well. He had an intention of attacking Nur Muhammad Latti. Again, he took Shāh Nawaz Khān with him and finished the operation. Because of this coming and going of the troops of Nādir Shāh the Khān Bahādur could no longer maintain his authority as previously. The Sikhs began to make their appearance in some villages where they had concealed themselves and had been passing their time in obscurity. Wherever they found weak officers, on them they began to play their hands in the way of theft.

Near about this time the Khān Bahādur died.[11] His sons were the sons of the sister of the Wazir Nawab Qamruddīn Khān, and the daughter of Nawab Qamruddīn Khān also was married to the elder son Yahiyā Khān. The *sanad* of the *Subahdāri* was sent in his (Yahiyā Khān's) name from the *darbār*. Shāh Nawāz Khān was very insolent and a shedder of blood from his boyhood and his bravery was very great. Especially, the companionship of Nādir Shāh increased his insolence two-fold and bad ideas got way in his head. The rule of the elder brother was not liked by him. When the Sikhs found the position in the city like this, they began their old game. When Yahiyā Khān wanted to chastise them and sent troops (for the purpose) Shāh Nawāz Khān used secretly to write to the Sikhs: "You hold on with perseverance," and by an air of friendliness made the Mughal *Sardārs* (favourably) inclined towards himself. Once he took the responsibility for the urgent business of the Sikhs in his own hands and entered into their midst. The Sikhs, with pleasure, became his companions and Shāh Nawāz Khān began to plunder the Subah extensively. Again, there was a compromise between the two brothers. In the meantime most of the places were given in writing to the Sikhs and he (Shāh Nawāz Khān) began to keep his hair and after this, bringing the Mughals to his side, openly engaged in war against his brother. In the city of Lahore lines of entrenchment and other preparations for war were made complete. At last Shāh Nawāz Khān was victorious and after a great struggle Yahiyā Khān was captured and made prisoner. He took the

Khān. The Khān Bahādur had also a third son named Mir Bāqi. (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vol. I, p. 191).

11 This was in 1745 A.D.

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Subahdāri wthout any partnership and created an excellent army of the foreign Mughals.

Nawāb Qamruddīn Khān was dissatisfied for the sake of his daughter and did not grant the *Sanad* of the *Subahdāri*. Without the imperial *Sanad* Shāh Nawāz Khān occupied the whole Subah, together with the Subah of Multān. He chose a strange path, and wrecklessness and shedding of blood he made into a habit. He erected a fort for sitting in *darbār* like the eight-towered fort of Shāhjahānābād where the emperors themselves used to sit, and the *Sardārs* were ordered to remain standing (before him). He again turned his attention towards uprooting the Sikhs. When a Sikh was brought before him his belly was cut in his presence and sometimes his brain was taken out by driving a nail (into his head) and kept preserved in his presence. If any Sikh was brought prisoner at the time when he was engaged in eating, he asked that his bladder be extracted and brought, and according to his orders, the executioner took it out and put it on his tray, and he went on eating his food with pleasure. He never hesitated in ordering executions. If any of the inhabitants of the city brought to him any complaint, he, without any thought, ordered both to be killed. If any mother complained to him about her son, that he did not look after her, then he would give signal for the execution of the son before her eyes. When he (the son) was taken to the place of execution and the mother began to cry, he ordered the executioner to kill both of them. He gave the revenues of the Panjāb to the foreign troops. One day, in course of his perambulations, he went to the place where he had kept his brother a prisoner and said: "My mind desires that I root out the two eyes of my elder brother." The sound of these words reached the ears of Yahiyā Khān and he felt extremely worried and helpless. He used to weep before everybody and ask for a remedy. By chance a free maid-servant, who brought him his food, said: "I will take you out by seating you on the food tray." She did this at the time of return (by putting him) in place of the plates and dishes used in eating. A few horses had been kept ready near that house. At the fall of night he got on horse-back and rode forty *koses* of way in course of the night. On the second day Shāh Nawāz Khān got this news. Many searches were made but without result. In course of five days Yahiyā Khān reached Shāhjahānābād.

Near about this time the report of the coming of Ahmad Shāh Abdāli, which had not yet been heard, becam: current in quarters on the side of

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Kābul. Shāh Nawāz Khān wrote many letters asking him to come this way so that the two together might conquer Hindusthān. Ahmad Shāh agreed and started towards Kābul. At that time he kept up his correspondence with friendly moderation and Shāh Nawāz Khān thought that he would rule and that he would finish all his great tasks with this man as his collaborator; and giving him the office of a great Subah he would make him agree to his proposal. Ahmad Shāh began to send him letters of friendship and such others that were likely to cement the friendship, so that with his friendship it might be easy for him to cross the river at Attock. When he had crossed the river easily Shāh Nawāz Khān sent an envoy to inform him that it was all well that he had come according to his call. "Now let us march towards Hindusthān. If God pleases, after winning victory and after ascending the imperial throne, the office of the Wazir will be fixed for you and I myself shall engage in the imperial duties." In reply he (Ahmad Shāh) said: "God has given me power and I am not inclined towards help from anybody. He who will come to my service after thinking about his own welfare would be the gainer. However, to conquer countries and to rule as Emperor is written in my destiny." He began to issue orders throughout the tracts from Qandahār to Herāt and from Kābul to this place and wrote to Shāh Nawāz: "If you obey me, an extensive country will be given to you." The *darwesh* Shāh Sābir, in whom he (Ahmad Shāh) had much faith, and who was a man given over to piety and contemplation, was sent with the envoy to make this offer. When Shāh Sābir brought this news to Shāh Nawāz Khān, his head, which was full of the air of pride, was at once upset, and he said: "I shall be the Emperor, I gave Ahmad Shāh the passage to come here." Shāh Sābir said: "God has given him the kingdom; you make it your duty to obey him and you will be given the post of the Wazir." Shāh Nawāz Khān angrily said: "You are a mad man and I do not like the words of mad men; you will receive the fruits of your actions." Shāh Sābir said: "God the High will make you fall down from your position and I shall see." His (Shāh Nawāz's) pride within him made him say: "I am presently making you fall from your position." He issued orders and (accordingly) Shāh Sābir's hands and feet were bound, an iron chain was stuck in his neck, a dog was brought and tied to Shāh Sābir's neck, stones were pelted at him, and he was made to roll on the ground. And he said: "The punishment for what you have done me you will receive." Shāh Sābir was told: "Say

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that Shāh Nawāz Khān is the Emperor and Ahmad Shāh his *Wazir*." He said: "Unquestionably Ahmad Shāh is the Emperor and you will leave this place as a vagabond."[12]

However, this news reached Ahmad Shāh. Immediately leaving his camp he advanced in three days the distance of twelve days, reached the vicinity of Lahore and camped there. Shāh Nawāz Khān made preparations for war and arranged the lines of entrenchment around the city. There were twelve thousand foreign horsemen, who belonged to his own clan, and every one of whom had arms of silver and golden weapons of war, and horses from China, Arabia and Turkey, who tore even cannons to pieces, together with proper and sufficient accoutrements of war. The people of Lahore used to say that even in the days of the Khān Bahādur such a number of foreign Mughals with such accoutrements did never assemble together. But inspite of this the decree of Providence was that, without any battle and without any firing of guns, the men fled in course of the night. From whichever entrenchment Shāh Nawāz Khān took information he found that the men had fled. Being helpless he, too, leaving his things, treasury, arsenal and attendants, and getting on a swift camel, being unsuccessful, put his feet on the field of decline. In five days he reached Shāhjahānābād.

The soldiers who were in the parganahs without any occupation fell into the hands of the Sikhs with their equipments and some of the Zamindārs, who had received wealth and property, began to behave in the manner of the Sikhs. The affair of Ahmad Shāh lingered on. Shāh Nawāz Khān had Shāh Sābir killed, together with the dog, in his presence at the time he fled. And also, when Ahmad Shāh again fled towards Lahore, being defeated in Hindusthān, a portion of his equipments fell into the hands of the Zamindārs, and, in every parganah, manufacturing arms of war, they occupied some of the villages. Itimād-ud-daulah Nawāb Qamruddīn Khān Bahādur died in this battle,[13] and on his son, Nawāb Muin-ul-Mulk, who had performed many deeds of valour and to whose firmness the victory over Ahmad Shāh was due, the *Subahdāri* of Lahore, Multān, Kābul and Tattah was conferred. He pursued Ahmad Shāh

12 This is a restoration; the manuscript is here stained.

13 This battle was fought at Mānupur, a village ten miles north-west of Sarhind, in March, 1748. For details see Sir J. N. Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vol. I, pp. 220-230.

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Abdāli and got the title of *Rustam-i-Hind*. Ahmad Shāh fled towards Qandahar and he could not halt anywhere in his way.

Rustam-i-Hind took up his position at Lahore and the Sikh trouble began. In this opportunity the Sikhs assembled together and began to fight the Faujdārs. *Rustam-i-Hind* used to employ his crack troops to attack the followers of this bad religion and to plunder the enemy. Many came as prisoners and were executed. At intervals of one or two months his troops attacked them. Though the scoundrels did not possess the strength for war, still they left nothing undone to harm the parganahs and to commit robbery. When the troops came near them, in pursuance of their old practice, they took shelter under the Zamindārs and some went towards Kohistān. After the return of the troops they again stealthily began their depredations. And the Mughals brought their severed heads and got prizes. Muin-ul-Mulk himself, under the cover of hunting, rode a horse and after going five or six *koses,* sent the horsemen to those tracts whereform he got news about the Sikhs. Reaching there unexpectedly the horsemen killed (most of) them and the rest fled. In the days of Muin-ul-Mulk the roads were cleared in course of a year and the Sikhs accepted the position of cultivators. In this way two years passed. Ahmad Shāh Abdāli again got ready and fell upon Muin-ul-Mulk. It was the reign of Mirzā Ahmad Shāh and Nawāb Bahādur Khwājah Sarā was the *muktear.* Nothing in the way of preparation was done from the central Government. Ahmad Shāh came near and *Rustam-i-Hind* fought with him for five months and was afterwards defeated. Ahmad Shāh reached Lahore and took away all the weapons and equipments of war. Though he had experienced various exhibitions of warlike skill (on the part of Muin-ul-Mulk) he did not put his hand on his honour and gave him the *Subahdāri* of Lahore on his (Ahmad Shāh's) behalf and the whole country remained as before.

In course of these troubles the Sikhs again assembled together. In the meantime Shāh Nawāz Khān reached the borders of Multān from Shāhjahānābād, passing through the Lakhi jungle, and because of the quarrel between the Irānis and the Turānis, Safdar Jung issued the *Sanad* of the *Subahdāri* of Lahore in the name of Shāh Nawāz Khān. And of the Qalaqchi Mughals, who were at Lahore, some fled barehanded and joined Shāh Nawāz Khān in expectation of his favour. He secretly wrote to the Sikhs: "You bring trouble and harm to the Subah of Lahore." For mad

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men one single hint is enough. The Sikhs scattered themselves here and there and roamed about, saying: "Shāh Nawāz, Shāh Nawāz." *Rustam-i-Hind* himself remained at Lahore for subduing the Sikhs and sent an army under the generalship of his Dewān Rājah Kaurā Mal Khatri against Shāh Nawāz Khān. Shāh Nawāz Khān fought with bravery, and after wounding several Mughals with his own hands, died. The ambition of *Rustam-i-Hind* doubled itself. Safdar Jung again sent a *Sanad* in the name of Nāsir Khān, the Subahdār of Kābul.[14] Nāsir Khān came towards Lahore and, coming out of Lahore, *Rustam-i-Hind* defeated him. In course of these troubles the business of uprooting the Sikhs could not be proceeded with. But up to that time no distinct place was in their occupation. They lived scattered in the way of thieves and robbers. About two thousand horsemen remained scattered throughout the Subah and, wherever one or two hundred assembled, troubles began and they again fled. No month passed in which ten or twenty severed heads of Sikhs were not brought to the city.

In accordance with the will of God *Rustam-i-Hind* accidentally died in young age. He left a boy of one year and his wife became regent. The soldiers were separated into two groups, one Mughal and the other Hindusthāni. One was against the other. The Begum sided more with the Hindusthānis. After some time the Mughals became dissatisfied, drove out the Begum and they made a man named Bihkāri Khān the regent, and he became the owner of the country. The Begum wrote to Ahmad Shāh detailing the actual events. Ahmad Shāh sent troops to Lahore under Sardār Zaman Khān. The Mughals fled and again the Begum got the regency. The Begum put Bihkāri Khān before her, bound his hands and feet, rolled him in a sheet of canvass and then ordered her maid-servants to beat him with sticks. Then taking a dagger in her hand she herself struck him twice and (the body) was thown outside. The Durrāni troops in reality ruled though the name was of the Begum. A daughter of Muin-ul-Mulk, whose name was Umdat-ul-nesa, was betrothed from her childhood to the Nawāb-Wazir Imād-ul Mulk. The Mughal *Sardārs,* who had come flying from

14 Nāsir Khān had been the governor of Kābul at the time the province was ceded to Persia by the treaty of 1739 and had been forced by Nādir Shāh to continue as his governor. With the rise of the Abdāli he left Kābul and came to Lahore and Muin-ul-Mulk appointed him Faujdār of the four *Mahals*—Siālkot, Pasrur, Gujrat and Aurangabad.

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Lahore, complained to the Nawāb-Wazir Azam Ghaziuddīn Khān Bahādur[15] of the Begum's high-handedness and immoderate conduct and urged that she was destroying the honour of the Mughal name and that she wanted to marry her daughter with the son of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni. As the matter was concerned with honour the Nawāb-Wazir became very much angry and taking with himself the Shāhzādā Ali Gowhar, who was then associated with State business, went towards Lahore. During these troubles nobody paid any attention towards subduing the Sikhs. They looted the country everywhere and did not pay rents at all. When the Nawāb-Wazir reached the vicinity of Lahore the Sikhs went away in another direction. Big Rājahs and big Zamindārs paid him visits. He had six thousand brave horsemen with him and he crossed the Sutlej. The Subahdār of Kāshmir came down from the hills and wrote letters in which there were firm promises of friendship in the matter of Kābul and matters connected with attacking Ahmad Shāh. The Rājah of Jammu, who was well-known among the Rājahs of the hills and through whose friendship the Subah of Kāshmir came into the hands of Ahmad Shāh, also expressed his desire of seeing him (Wazir) and sent *Vakils* with presents. And the troops of Ahmad Shāh fled to Qandahār in a helpless condition.

The Wazir sent two thousand horsemen and several *khojas* to Lahore on an expedition. They came to Lahore, passing seven days' distance in three days, and making the Begum a prisoner brought her together with her belongings (to the Wazir). He (Wazir) gave the *Subahdāri* to an old Mughal friend named Jamiluddīn Khān, returned and entered Shāhjahānābād without trouble. From her prison the Begum wrote to Ahmad Shāh: "My relative has made me a prisoner without any reason. You are a great Pādshāh and you called me your own daughter, and while you are living I am being subjected to such indignities." All the Durrāni troops that Ahmad Shāh had assembled as a precautionary measure when the Wazir had gone towards Lahore, and two thousand Beloch horsemen whose commander was Nāsir Khan Barohi, twelve thousand Uzbak horsemen who had been brought from Balkh, eight thousand horsemen of Darwesh Ali Khān Herāti, who were Qizilbāshi Irānis, Bāj Chung Khān, Zamindār of Bangash with five thousand troops, and ten thousand horse-

15 This was Shihābuddin, who afterwards gained the titles of Imād-ul-Mulk, Ghazi-ud-din Khān Bahādur etc., and became the Wazir of the Empire in June, 1754.

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men from Kābul and Peshāwar under the command of Samad Khān Mahmand reached, by continuous marches, the vicinity of Shāhjāhānābād and the case of the Nawāb-Wazir was completely spoiled. In order to describe these incidents a separate book is necessary. For this reason, the incidents of Lahore have been written shortly, just to keep the connection of events in hand.

The fact is that Ahmad Shāh Durrāni reached Shāhjahānābād.[16] Mughlāni Begum was released and the servants of the Begum, wherever they found the Nawāb-Wazir's men, beat them with *lathis* and began to ride the Nawāb-Wazir's own beautiful horses. Ahmad Shāh gave the Begum the title of Sultān Mirzā.[17] A domestic of *Rustam-i-Hind*, whose name was Arjamand and who was a sincere friend of the Nawāb-Wazir, was called to her presence by the Begum and she struck him with a dagger and killed him. She sent information to her daughter to the effect that she intended to solemnise her marriage with Timur Shāh, the son of Ahmad Shāh. Umdadennesa Begum, whose chastity be ever preserved, said: "I shall kill myself. My age is fourteen; inspite of that how can my marriage be settled without my consent?" In short, the Begum played upon her hopes and fears, and cajoled her but Umda Begum did not agree. Just at that time, when the Durrāni trouble was going on and the Nawāb-Wazir was a prisoner, all the jewellery of Umda Begum was taken away, excepting the piece of cloth which she had been wearing, and nothing else remained. It is a fact that ornaments to the value of twenty-four lakhs had been in her name from the time of her father. All was taken away by force. One night she was married to Imdād-ul-Mulk in a poor manner and given away to him.

At the time of his departure Ahmad Shāh left his son as the Subahdār of Lahore, kept Samad Khān with troops at Sarhind, and appointed Najib-ud-dowla at Shāhjahānābād. The troops of Ahmad Shāh began to watch the Sikhs and very often the troops plundered the Sikhs. The number of Sikh horsemen also reached about ten thousand and the footmen were innumerable. In the meantime the Nawāb-Wazir, taking with him Ahmad

16 This was on the 28th January, 1757.

17 It is said that, being very much pleased by the services rendered by Mughlāni Begam, Ahmad Shāh had cried out, "Hitherto I had styled you my daughter; but from today I shall call you my *son* and give you the title of Sultān Mirzā." (Sarkar, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 64, 65).

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Khān Bangash, Raghunāth Rāo, Holkār, Shamser Bahādur and others, and assembling about a lakh of troops, drove Najib Khān out of Shāhjahānābād and also drove Samad Khān out of Sarhind. Timur Shāh fled from Lahore and the city of Lahore and the villages to the limits of the Panjāb were occupied by the Marāthās.[18] One year passed in this manner. Again Ahmad Shāh Durrāni came, the Marāthās fled, Ahmad Shāh reached Shāhjahānābād and the Nawāb-Wazir began to live in the fortresses with the Marāthās. On his way back, Ahmad Shāh again kept troops at Sarhind, Doāb, Lahore and Rhotās. This time many Sikhs were killed. Wherever the troops of Ahmad Shāh heard of the Sikhs, crossing eighty *koses* of distance in one day and one night, they fell upon the Sikhs and punished them. When Ahmad Shāh crossed three rivers of the Panjāb, a Sikh named Charat Singh followed Ahmad Shāh with one thousand two hundred horsemen, and everyday, when the troops halted, they came to view and the Durrānis began to fight with them. After fighting like the advance guard of an army till a watch of the night passed, they went away and the troops of Ahmad Shāh kept watch for the whole night. In the morning, at the time of starting, they again came to view and again the whole day they remained hidden. Again at dusk till two watches of the night, they fought like an advance guard as before, and at night they used to camp at a distance of ten *koses* from Ahmad Shāh's army. For a long time Ahmad Shāh wanted to form lines for a pitched battle or that they might come into his hands but no opportunity came. Ahmad Shāh crossed the river at Attock and went to Qandahār.

The officers of the Subah of Lahore had always to remain in the anxieties of war. At last, one day the Sikhs hid themselves here and there and a small section among them appeared in the city of Lahore. The Durrānis also, according to their fixed custom, came out in the way of an advance guard and found that about one thousand of the Sikh troops were there, and sent news to the Subahdār. The Subahdār himself, who was Sardār Jahan Khān, got upon his horse and alone driving the Sikhs back passed about 15 *koses* of way and came back. Again the Sikhs attacked and near about the time of evening the battle became furious. The

18 Raghunath Rao captured Lahore in April, 1758. Adina Beg Khān became the Subahdār on behalf of the Marāthās and he, in his turn, appointed Khwājah Khān to govern Lahore as his deputy. Later on, after the death of Adina Beg, Sābāji Sindhia was sent to take the governorship directly into Marāthā hands.

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Durrānis, too, standing erect, advanced. Just at this time of struggle ten thousand Sikhs horsemen with Charat Singh, Tārā Singh Ghebah, Jassā Singh Thokah, Hari Singh Bhāngi, Lehnā Singh, Gujār Singh, Jhandā Singh and others arrived and joined the battle from one side. The Durrāni troops, being unable to stand, retreated at night towards the city, fighting. In this battle many Sikhs were killed and many Durrānis also were killed and wounded. Rather about two hundred Durrāni men were made prisoners. After this Sardār Jahan Khān went to Kābul. Assembling together, the Sikhs fell upon Jain Khān, who was the Governor of Sarhind on behalf of Ahmad Shāh. Jain Khān fought for many days and at last died. After this the Sikhs divided the country (among themselves) and Jhandā Singh went towards Multān with eight thousand horsemen and conquered it. The town of Sarhind, which was a very good place and where there lived many nobles, saints, scholars and businessmen, was entirely destroyed. Three of them occupied the city of Lahore as partners and the officers of all the three sat together.[19]

After a year Ahmad Shāh came again and they gave way and scattered themselves here and there. Ahmad Shāh destroyed Amritsar, where there were a deep tank, several buildings on it, and a temple of the Sikhs. It is a custom among the Sikhs that they call the day of *Dewali Dewala*, and they assemble at Amritsar and take their baths. When a Sikh is wounded in battle, he is kept in a house erected by the side of the tank, and the water of the tank is rubbed in the wound instead of medicine. From there Ahmad Shāh went in search of the Sikhs and passed one hundred *koses* in course of one day and one night. Inspite of this the Sikhs got the information and fled. Some were killed, the camps were plundered and about one thousand horses came into the hands of the Durrānis. Some of the Zamindārs told Ahmad Shāh that on that side there was a notable Zamindār of the parganah of Sarhind named Alā Jāt, who had been a cultivator under the Sarhind officers. In recent times he strengthened some of the Mughal forts and declared himself as Singh. The Sikhs very often came to his shelter and at the time of battle he supplied them with food and other necessaries. After waiting one day, Ahmad Shāh, on the second day,

19 It seems that there has been some confusion here and that these incidents should be placed later, i.e., in 1763. The incidents described in the next paragraph, viz: the destruction of Amritsar and the subjugation of Alā Singh, took place in 1762.

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attacked the fort of Alā Jāt, which was named Dhāndāh Dhurāh but Alā was not in that fort. The fort was very strong but it fell at the first attack. Alā Jāt paid a considerable amount of money and came to see Ahmad Shāh. Again Ahmad Shāh went away and the Sikhs were established as before. For the fourth time Ahmad Shāh came to within six marches of Shāhjahānābād but the Sikhs did not fight him. They gave him way and went away to their own places. After this Ahmad Shāh did not come again.

The Ṣikhs cultivated the land in full strength. They destroyed the nobles and the sepoys and made the cultivators and businessmen favourably inclined (towards themselves). About fifty thousand horsemen with beautiful horses and innumerable footmen were made ready and they amicably divided the country in the following manner—Jhandā Singh became the owner of Multān; Charat Singh occupied that side of Lahore which was called *Cār Mahal* and whose boundary extended to the side of the river at Attock; and in Lahore and the adjoining *mahal* Lehnā Singh, Gujār Singh and other Sikhs became masters. Those Sikhs, who live near about Lahore, are, in their idiom, called *Manjhāwāla;* and those Sikhs, who are overlords in the Doāb, such as Jassā Singh Kalal, Jassā Singh Thokah and Tārā Singh Ghebah, are known as *Burā Dal*. In the jungly country the parganahs of Sarhind and all others, the overlord was Alā Jāt's son,[20] whose name was Amar Singh and who was a *Pādshāhi* Zamindār. Six or seven thousand horsemen were always in his service and infantrymen he had to any number he wanted. He has five or six strong forts in his hands[21]..... Out of forty lakhs of revenue forty thousand are given to the Sikh *Dal* when they come within his boundaries. The place of his residence is Pātiāla. According to the idiom of the Sikhs the infantryman is called *Shāhjādah*. Those Sikhs who are barefooted are called *nahtāk*. His troops go to those portions of villages and parganahs that are under the occupation of others, give assurances of safety and take money. This money is called *qārrāh*.[22] *Qārrāh* is, in the Hindi language, equivalent of that utensil in which black sugar, sweets, and other things are prepared. From whichever place the Sikhs take money, (with that) they make *qārrāh* in the name of Nānak,

20 Amar Singh was the grandson and not the son of Alā Singh.

21 The meaning here is not clear and possibly something has been left out.

22 This is more generally known as *rākhi*, something like the Marāthā *chauth*. (Sinha, *Rise of the Sikh Power*, p. 208).

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cook *hālooāh* in that, and distribute it as *parsād*. And meat they call *mahā-parsād*. Meat and wine they take in plenty.

After the departure of Ahmad Shāh, Charat Singh and others established themselves with complete ease. The Sikhs of the *Burrā Dal* every year sent troops in the direction of Shāhjahānābād and, so long as Najib Khān was alive, he used to fight with them every year and always he won but the country was devastated by them. Still in every parganah crude forts were built and for every village there was a fort with mud walls. Nothing was lost except grains and it was only after many battles that they became victorious. Sometimes driving them out of his own boundary he pushed them back to theirs. Then the *Manjhāwāla* Sikhs helped the *Burrā Dal*. Except on these occasions, they did not come this way. They had no necessity to plunder, good countries were in their hands. When the Emperor entered Shāhjahānābād[23] their strength increased. Some of the *mahals* near Shāhjahānābād, which were in its possession during the days of Najib Khān, are now, owing to the negligence of the Government, in the hands of the Sikhs. But Mirzā Shafi Khān (peace be upon him) rescued many of the *mahals*. When the present Emperor attacked Zabitā Khān, Mirzā Najaf Khān was with him with one lakh of horsemen. Three thousand horsemen of the Sikhs were also with Zabitā Khān. In course of the advance guard actions they used to plunder and go away. At last, the day on which Zabitā Khān was defeated, the Sikhs went away quite safely and they took Zabitā Khān with them. For this reason a good understanding arose between them.

When the *Burrā Dal* comes towards Hindusthān, five or six thousand regular troops and the rest in many different bands come with them. If for the purpose of negotiation any *vakil* arrive on behalf of any *Sardar*, the respectable *Sardārs* do not enter into discussions with him at first. On the first day they spread a carpet in some place and the Sikhs, coming in bands, sit together with the *Sardār*. One man is told to perform *ardās*. Getting up the man reads something and says: "The *Vakil* of such and such *Sardar* has come to negotiate; what is the will of the Khālṣāhji?" Every man, who had been sitting there, says that which is in his mind. One says: "I shall fight, I do not agree to the terms." Some one says: "I am

23 The reference is to Shāh Alam's entrance into Delhi on the 3rd January, 1772, after his alliance with Marāthās.

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starting tomorrow in such and such a direction." Another speaks foully. What the *Sardār* himself wants he says, in a low voice, in the ears of the *Vakil* at night in his own house. After several meetings of the party the proposal is agreed to. Everybody is independent in his own place. If anybody possesses two horses and has a village in *jāgir,* he is under no necessity of bowing to another. If with the desire of plunder he comes towards Hindusthān, it is all right, otherwise nobody forces him to come. Similarly, the persons possessing a hundred or two hundred horsemen are also of the same condition. If any troops from outside come to their side, then it is necessary that they all combine. The territory that has come under their rule comprises the whole Subah of Lahore, three-fourths of Multān because the fourth part is in the hands of the Daudputras, and one-third of the Subah of Shāhjahānābād. At present they have in readiness fifty thousand troops with good horses, good guns and costly dresses, and innumerable foot-soldiers. Two years back Timur Shāh conquered the city of Multān[24] and seven hundred Sikhs were killed there together. The city of Multān and some parganahs adjoining the city are under his officers and the rest is in the hands of the Sikhs. "In whose hands is sovereignty to-day?—In the hands of God who is one and all powerful." Seventy years back this religion was born and at present several lakhs of people belong to this faith.

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE

24 This was in 1781 and so the *Hakikat* was written in 1783.

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The gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs, the itihāsas and purāṇas of the Vedic literature

However authentic the genealogies of the Vedic religious teachers and the Vedic lists of *gotras* and *pravaras* might be, they would form at best a skeleton of historical compositions properly so called. A more definite approach to history is marked by some ancillary branches of learning known to the Vedic times, to which we now refer. These are the gāthās and the nārāśaṃsīs which may be roughly translated as 'epic song verses' and 'songs in praise of heroes' respectively. [*Cf.* Winternitz, vol. I, p. 226]. Already in a passage of the late tenth book of the *Ṛgveda* (*Ibid.*, 85. 6) gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs are mentioned as distinct but evidently allied types of composition, though elsewhere gāthā is used in the more general sense of 'songs'. [*Cf. Vedic Index*, s.v.]. The *Atharva Veda*, XV, 6·3-4 mentions gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs as the last and evidently the least important of a series of enumerated texts. [The series runs as follows:—ṛcaḥ, sāmāni, yajūmsī, brahman, itihāsaḥ, purāṇam, gāthāḥ nārāśaṃsyaḥ]. The daily study of gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs (or nārāśaṃsī gāthās) following that of the Ṛk, the Yajus, the Sāman, the Atharvāṅgiras and other texts is enjoined upon the householder in solemn and moving words in the Brāhmaṇa and later works. [*Cf. Śat. Br.*, XI. 5. 6. 4-8 = *S.B.E.*, vol. XLIV, pp. 96-98; *Taitt. Ar.*, II, 10. ed. Ānandāśrama Sansk. Series, vol. I. p. 1. 144,. *Aśv. Gṛ. S.* III. 3 = *S.B.E.*, vol. XXIX, pp. 218-219. In these passages the various classes of texts are said to constitute as many forms of offerings to the gods, and their recitation is said to satiate not only the gods but, also the Fathers].

As forms of literary *genre*, though not as distinct branches of learning, the gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs have their parallels at least in part, in some hymns and portions of hymns in the Ṛgveda and Atharva Veda Saṃhitās. We refer, in the first instance, to the so-called Dānastutis ("Praises of Gifts"), which form the concluding verses of a number of Ṛgvedic hymns. Of these

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hymns it has been said by a competent authority:—"Some of them are songs of victory, in which the god Indra is praised, because he has helped some king to achieve a victory over his enemies. With the praise of the god is united the glorification of the victorious king. Finally, however, the singer praises his patron, who has presented him with oxen, horses and beautiful slaves out of the booty of war.... Others are very long sacrificial songs, also mostly addressed to Indra, and they also are followed by verses in which the patron of the sacrifice is praised, because he gave the singer a liberal priestly fee." [Winternitz, vol. I, p. 114]. Another partial parallel is to be found in the so-called Kuntāpa hymns of the *Atharva Veda* [*Ibid.*, XX, 127-136], of which we give below a specimen in Bloomfield's translation [*S.B.E.*, vol. XLII, pp. 197-198]:—

"Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all peoples, the god who is above mortals, of Vaiśvānara Parikṣit!

"'Parikṣit has procured for us a secure dwelling, when he, the most excellent one, went to his seat'. (Thus) the husband in Kuru-land, when he founds his household, converses with his wife.

"'What may I bring to thee, curds, stirred drink, or liquor.' Thus the wife asks her husband in the kingdom of king Parikṣit.

"Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth (of the vessels). The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Parikṣit."

The gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs formed such a necessary accompaniment of Vedic sacrificial ceremonies that their recitation was incorporated in the rituals of some of the great sacrifices. We may illustrate this in the first instance from the example of the Aśvamedha which the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 2. 2. 1 aptly calls 'the king of sacrifices', and which could only be performed by a victorious king or by a paramount ruler. [For a detailed account of the sacrifice according to the texts of the White Yajurveda, namely *Vājasaneya Saṃhitā*, *Śat. Br.* XIII, 1-5, *Kāty. Śr. S.* XX, *Āśval. Śr. S.* X. 6-10, see now the excellent work of P.-E. Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha*, Paris-Louvain, 1927. The appendix to this contains trs. of the Black Yajurveda version as given in *Āpast. Śr. S.*, XX, 1-23, *Baudh. Śr. S.*, XV, 1. 30 and some fragments of the *Śr. S.* of Vādhula]. On a number of occasions during the course of the sacrifice provision is made for the recitation of *gāthās* by musicians in praise of the sacrificer. On the day of letting loose of the sacrificial horse the vīṇāgaṇagins (i.e., as explained by the commentator, the musicians who sang to the accompaniment of all sorts of lutes) are required to sing praises of the sacrificer along with those of just kings of

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ancient times. This was repeated daily during the whole year of the horse's wandering and was continued in the same way down to the day of the sacrificer's initiation (*dīkṣā*). Afterwards the musicians have to sing daily, as before, praises of the sacrificer along with those of the gods. (See Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 56, 68, giving full references). Towards the conclusion of the ceremony the musicians have to sing praises of the sacrificer along with those of Prajāpati. (*Ibid.*, pp. 111, 126, 230). Still more pointed reference is made to the contents of the gāthās in connection with some other portions of the ceremonial. On the day of letting loose the horse, a Brāhmaṇa lute-player (*vīṇāgāthin*) has to sing to the accompaniment of the *uttaramandrā* (a kind of *vīṇā*, according to the commentator) three stanzas composed by himself on such topics as 'he performed such and such sacrifice' 'he gave such and such gifts.' On the same day a Brāhmaṇa lute-player sings three gāthās similarly composed by himself and relating to the sacrifices and gifts of the sacrificer, while a Kṣatriya lute-player does the same on topics relating to the battles fought and the victories won by the sacrificer. This has to be repeated each day during the whole year. (Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 41-43, 304, 306).

In the above, it will be noticed, reference is made to *gāthās* celebrating generally the sacrificer's praises along with those of ancient kings or of gods, as well as those specifically praising the king's achievements as a sacrificer and conqueror. Concrete instances of these types are found in a series of more or less parallel texts of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 5. 4. 1 ff.,) and *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra* (XVI, 9) listing the famous kings performing the Aśvamedha sacrifice and of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 21-23) enumerating the kings who performed the 'Great Consecration' of Indra [A link between these two sets of lists is furnished by the fact that most of the kings performing the 'Great Consecration' are said in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* to have offered the horse sacrifice. Cf. the following:—"With this great anointing of Indra Tura Kāvaṣeya anointed Janamejaya Pārikṣīta. Thereupon Janamejaya Pārikṣīta went round the earth, conquering, bringing in every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice." *Ait. Br.*, VIII, 21, Keith's trans.]. To take a few examples, the *gāthā* quoted about king Janamejaya Pārikṣīta is as follows:—

> "At Āsandīvant, a horse grass-eating,
> Adorned with gold and yellow garland,
> Of dappled hue, was bound,
> By Janamejaya for the gods."

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Ait. Br., VIII, 21 Keith's tr. (H.O.S., XXV, p. 336) = *Śat. Br.*, XIII, 5. 4. 2 and with slight variations. *Śāṅkh. Śr. S.* XVI, 9. 1.

Of king Marutta Āvikṣita the following gāthā is quoted:—

"The Maruts as attendants
Dwelt in the house of Marutta;
Of Āvikṣita Kāmapri
The All-gods were the assessors."

Ait. Br., VIII, 21. *Cf. Śat. Br.*, XIII, 5. 4. 6: *Śāṅkh. Śr. S.*, XVI, 9. 16.

The gāthās of Kraivya the Pañcāla king, are introduced to us in the following way:—"At Parivakrā, the Pāñcāla overlord of the Krivis seized a horse meant for sacrifice, with offering gifts of a hundred thousand (head of cattle). "A thousand myriads there were, and five-and-twenty hundreds, which the Brāhmaṇas of the Pañcālas from every quarter divided between them." *Śat Br.*, XIII, 5. 4. 7-8 (Eggeling's tr.).

Lastly the gāthās about Bharata, son of Duḥṣanta, are as follows:—

"Covered with golden trappings,
Beasts black with white tusks,
As Masnāra Bharata gave,
A hundred and seven myriads.
.....
The great deed of Bharata,
Neither men before or after,
As the sky a man with his hands,
The five peoples have not attained."

Ait. Br., VIII, 23 = *Śat. Br.*, XIII, 5. 4. 11 ff.

The verses about Janamejaya Kraivya and Bharata just quoted evidently belong to the class of gāthās in praise of kings' sacrifices and gifts to which reference is made in the account of the Aśvamedha sacrifice mentioned above. On the other hand the verse relating to Marutta Āvikṣita comes within the category of gāthās praising the kings along with the gods. Of another class of *gāthās*, those in honour of the gods, also referred to in the account of the Aśvamedha given above, it is unnecessary to speak in the present place. Concrete examples of this class are the Indragāthās ('songs in honour of Indra') to which reference is made in the *Atharvaveda* (XX, 128. 12-16) and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VI, 32).

As in the case of the ritual of the Aśvamedha, the recitation of gāthās was made by some authorities part and parcel of the *gṛhya* sacrificial ritual. One of the important 'domestic' rites is the Sīmantonnayana ('parting of the hair') which is performed on the expectant mother in the fourth, sixth,

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seventh or eighth month of pregnancy. Here the husband has to ask two lute-players (*vīṇā-gāthins*) to sing about the king or anybody else who is still more valiant (*Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, I, 22, 11-12 and *Pāraskara Gṛhya-sūtra*, I, 15. 7-8) or about king Soma (*Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, I, 14. 6-7).

Like the gāthās the nārāśaṃsīs are also found to be incorporated in some of the great sacrificial ceremonies. The *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra*, in the course of its description of the Puruṣamedha sacrifice, mentions (*Ibid.*, XVI, 11 Bib. Ind. ed. pp. 205-6) a series of ten nārāśaṃsīs which are to be sung in regular cycles of ten days' duration. Each of these is accompanied by a short statement of its subject-matter and a reference to the corresponding hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda*. We give below the list of these nārāśaṃsīs according to the short description of the original text:—

1. How Śunaḥśepa, son of Ajīgarta, was released from the sacrificial yoke,
2. How Kakṣīvant, descendant of Uśij, gained the gift from his patron,
3. How Śyāvāśva gained gift from his patron,
4. How Bharadvāja gained gifts from his two patrons,
5. How Vasiṣṭha became the Purohita of Sudās,
6. How Āsaṅga Plāyogi, being a woman, became a man,
7. How Vatsa, descendant of Kaṇva, obtained gift from his patron,
8. How Vaśa Aśvya gained gift from his patron,
9. How Praskaṇva obtained gift from his patron,
10. How Nābhānediṣṭha, descendant of Manu, obtained gift from Aṅgiras.

It will be observed that the list given above consists, with one exception, of praises for gifts received, or supplications to the deity for favours sought. The first and by far the more important class evidently falls into line with the dānastutis of the *Ṛg-Veda* already mentioned.

We may now consider the important and difficult question regarding the composition and authorship of the works under notice. In the account of the Aśvamedha given above, reference is made to *vīṇāgaṇins* (musicians) singing praises of the sacrificer as well as Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya *vīṇāgāthins* (lute-players) composing and singing songs in honour of the sacrificer's achievements. Evidently then there already existed at this early period a class of minstrels who not only preserved and handed down but also composed songs in honour of human celebrities. This class, however, did not as yet form a closed caste or corporation, for individual Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya musicians could play the same rôle. Evidence is not lacking that a professional class of bards or minstrels had already emerged in the late Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa times. In the list

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of symbolical victims at the Puruṣamedha occurring in the *Vājasaneya Saṃhitā* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (III. 4) we find side by side the lute-player and the flute-player as well as the *māgadha* and the *sūta* so familiar in Epic and Pauranic texts of later times. On the precise functions of the Vedic *māgadha* and *sūta* there is some difference of opinion [See *Vedic Index*, s.v.], though their Epic and Paurāṇic successors stand for royal eulogists or panegyrists and sometimes for genealogists [See Pargiter, *The ancient Indian historical tradition*, pp. 16-18, which gives full references].

The gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs occupy an important place in the development of Indian historical literature. Apart from the gāthās to the gods, they may be proved by references in the Vedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas to relate to historical characters and incidents, [Thus Janamejaya Pārikṣīta of the Kuru line, Para Ātnāra, king of Kośala, Marutta Āvikṣita king of the Pāñcālas, and Bharata Dauḥṣanti of the great Bharata tribe are all conspicuously mentioned in the late Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa literature, and they no doubt belong to the same period. The references to Āsandīvant as capital of Janamejaya, and of Parivakrā as capital of Kraivya Pañcāla and to Nādapit as the birthplace of Bharata have every appearance of historical reality]. To the human authorship of the *gāthās* as distinguished from the supposed revealed character of the Vedic hymns pointed testimony is borne by a text of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* ["Oṃ is the response to a *Ṛc*. 'Be it so,' to a gāthā,' Oṃ is divine. 'Be it so' human," *Ibid.*, VIII, 18, tr. A.B. Keith, *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas*, p. 309]. Granting all these points the question still remains, 'What is the historical value of the gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs of Vedic literature'? We have first to admit that these works no doubt because of their courtly exaggerations drew upon themselves the reprobation of some of the Vedic schools. Thus the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*, the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, all belonging to the Black Yajur-Veda, have a series of more or less parallel texts branding the gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs as lies and as the filth of Brahman (the Vedas) and placing acceptance of gifts from their reciters on the same moral level as that from a drunkard [*Cf. Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*, XIV. 5: anṛtam hi gāthā = nṛtam nārāśaṃsī mattasya na pratigṛhyam = anṛtam hi mattaḥ; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 32. 6-7: Yad brahmanaḥ śamalam = āsīt sa gāthānārāśaṃsy = abhavat yad = annasya sā surā tasmād = gāyātaśca mattasya ca na pratigṛhyam. *Cf. Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* I, 11. 5.]. These works however have been authoritatively recognised to be precursors of epic poetry. [*Cf.* Weber, *Episches im vedischen Ritual*, p. 4, followed by

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Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, p. 314]. With at least equal justice we may claim that they were the forerunners of the Indian historical *kāvya*, common to both being the fact that they eulogise the achievements of historical kings, naturally enough with some exaggeration.

Distinctly superior in importance to the gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs in the eyes of the Vedic Aryans, though not from the standpoint of Indian historiography, were the classes of compositions known to the Vedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas under the name of Itihāsa and Purāṇa. We may freely translate them as 'legends of gods and heroes' and 'legends of origin' respectively. In the passage of the late fifteenth book of the *Atharva-veda* quoted above, they are mentioned after the sacred Ṛk, Sāman, Yajus and Brahman, and before the gāthās and nārāśaṃsīs, in a series of enumerated texts. The same order is preserved in the above-quoted texts from *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 5, *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, II, 10 and *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* III, 3, enjoining daily study of the Veda upon the householder. In a number of parallel passages in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* virtually enumerating the known branches of learning at that time, Itihāsa and Purāṇa are similarly mentioned after Ṛg-Veda and Yajur-veda, Sāma-veda and Atharvāṅgirasa, but before a number of subsidiary studies. (See *Ibid.*, II, 4. 10; IV, 1. 2. IV, 5. 11 = *S.B.E.*, Vol. XV, pp. 111, 153, 184). In a similar series of parallel passages in the *Chāndogya Upaniśad* (VII, 1. 2; 2. 1; 7. 1) Itihāsa-Purāṇa is mentioned as the fifth after the Ṛg-veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sāma-Veda and the Ātharvaṇa, but before a number of secondary branches of learning. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, III, 4. 1-4 not only is the same order preserved (Ṛk, Yajus, Sāman, Atharvāṅgiras, Itihāsa-Purāṇa), but a close connection is sought to be established between the last two.

The elaborate account of the Aśvamedha sacrifice in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and other works shows that not only were Itihāsa and Purāṇa dignified with the title of 'Veda', but that their recitation formed an important element of the complex sacrificial ritual. On the day of loosening of the sacrificial horse, the *hotṛ* priest recites to the crowned king surrounded by his sons nad ministers what are called the 'revolving' (or 'recurring') legends (*pāriplava ākhyāna*). These are so called because the priest recites on ten successive days as many different Vedas, and this goes on for a year in cycles of ten days each. In the order of the narration Itihāsa and Purāṇa are reserved for the eighth and ninth days, while Ṛk, Yajuṣ, Atharvan, Aṅgirasa, sarpa-vidyā, devajana-vidyā, māyā are mentioned for the first seven days, and Sāman for the tenth. (See *Śat. Br.*, XIII, 4. 3. 2 ff.;

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Āśval. Śr. S., X, 7, 1 ff.; *Śāṅkh. Śr. S.*, XVI, 2. 1 ff. For the slight differences, see Sieg, *Die Sagenstoffe des Ṛg-veda*, p. 21*n*).

The recital of the *pāriplava* legends is evidently intended to show the models to whom the sacrificer is assimilated. (*Cf.* Dumont, *op. cit.*, p. 39, where the *pāriplava ākhyānas* are called "les anciens récits épiques, qui montrent les modèles du roi dans la légende, modèles auxquels on assimilie le sacrifiant"]. Equally didactic is the use of Itihāsa and Purāṇa in certain domestic sacrifices described in the Gṛhyasūtras. According to *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* when a misfortune like the death of a preceptor takes place, the members of the family should cast out the old domestic fire and kindle a new one. Keeping that fire burning, they sit till the silence of the night narrating the stories of famous men and discoursing on the auspicious Itihāsapurāṇas. (*Ibid.*, IV, 6. 6; *cf.* Pischel and Geldner, *Vedische Studien* I. p. 290). Again, according to *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra* on the occasion of the ceremonies on the new and full moon days, the husband and the wife should spend the night so as to alternate their sleep with waking, entertaining themselves with Itihāsa or with other discourse. (*Ibid.*, I, 6. 6).

While the ritual and didactic import of Itihāsa and Purāṇa in these ancient times is sufficiently demonstrated by the texts, the same cannot be said of their character as historical compositions. In the explanatory (*arthavāda*) portions of the Brāhmaṇas as distinguished from those enjoining the precepts (*vidhi*), there have been preserved specimens of the old Itihāsa and Purāṇa. [*Cf.* Sieg in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. VII, *s.v.* Itihāsa; Winternitz, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 208 ff.]. Here we have, as examples of Itihāsas, the legend of Purūravas and Urvaśī already known in the *Ṛg-Veda*, the legend of the Flood, the legend of Śunaḥśepa and so forth. As examples of Purāṇas, we have the legend of origin of the four castes out of the body of Prajāpati and the various creation-legends. A reference in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI. 1. 6. 9. shows that wars between gods and Asuras also formed the materials of the ancient Itihāsa. On the other hand we have as yet no trace of genealogies of kings and dynasties with chronological references such as were to constitute an essential ingredient of the later Purāṇas according to the standard definition.

U. N. Ghoshal

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Historical References in Jain Poems*

In this paper I propose to indicate the incidental references to historical personages in the collection of Jain Poems named "*Aitihāsik Jain Kāvya-saṅgraha*" compiled by Messrs Agarchand Nahta and Bhanvarlal Nahta (published in Calcutta V.S. 1994). These are composed in Apabhraṃśa, Rājasthāni and Hindī.

The editors say that most of these poems pertain to the Kharatara-gaccha sect which flourished at Bikanir and that they have not been able to collect the poems pertaining to the Tapāgaccha sect except *Vijayasiṃha-sūri-vijayaprakāśarāsa* and another poem.

The poems are panegyrics and primarily intended to glorify the Jain Order. Historical events and personages are incidentally mentioned. Jain saints are said to have been honoured by royal personages. Some are credited to have impressed them not only by their piety and erudition, but also by performance of magic and miracle. Historical truth may lie embedded in such poems though they generally lack in authenticity. Strict scientific test should be applied to incidents mentioned and corroborative evidence supplied from contemporary records before they can be accepted as reliable statements.

In the songs eulogising Jinaprabhasūri we are told that he won the admiration of emperor Mohammad at Delhi.

राउ महंमद साहि जिणि, निय गुणि रंजियउं ।
मेढ मंडलि ढिल्लिय पुरि, जिण धरमु प्रकटु किउं ॥
तसु गछ धुरधरणु भयलि, जिणदेवसूरि राउ ।—श्रीजिणप्रभसूरिगीतम् ।

On Saturday the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Paus in V.S. 1385 (=A.D. 1328) he visited the court of Muhammad Shahi, Asapati, at Delhi. The Sultan treated him with respect, seated him by his side, offered him wealth, land, horses, elephants etc. which the saint declined as such gifts were according to rules of conduct unacceptable, but to honour him he took some clothes. The Sultan praised him and issued a *Firman* with royal seal for the construction of a new *basati* (*Upasraya*, rest house for monks). A procession started in his honour to the *posadha-sālā* to the accompaniment of varied music and dance of young women; the

* Read at the 5th Session of the Indian History Congress at Hyderabad.

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saint was seated on the state elephant (*Pāṭh.thi*) surrounded by Maliks. (Verses 2-9 in *Śrī Jinaprabhasūrīṇaṃ gītam*).

तेर पंचासियइ पोससुदि आठमि, सणिहिवारो ।
भेटिउ असपते "महमंदो," सुगुरि ढोलिय नयरे ॥२॥
श्रीमुखि सलहिउ पातसाहि विविहपरि मुणिसीहो ॥५॥
देइ फुरमाणु अनुकारवाई, नव वसति राय सुजाणु ॥६॥

Jinaprabhasūri's *paṭṭadhara*, Jinadeva Sūri, was also honoured by Muhammad Shah who being pleased with his nectar-like discourse caused to be installed at Delhi the image of Vīra (belonging to or coming from Kannāṇapur) at an auspicious moment on an auspicious day.

वंदहु भविय हो सुगुरु जिणदेवसुरि ढिल्लिय वरनयरि देसणउ
जेहि कन्नाणपुर मंडणु सामिउ वीर जिणु ।
महमद राइ समप्पिउं थापिउ सुभलगनि सुभदिवसि ॥२॥
—श्रीजिणदेवसूरि गीतम् ।

In another song Jinaprabha Sūri is said to have won the admiration of Asapati "Kutubadinu" who invited the saint to come to his court at Delhi on the 4th and the 8th lunar days.

आठाहि आठमिहि चउथी, तेडावइ सुरिताणु ए ।
पुह सितमुख जिणप्रभसूरि चलियउ, जिमि ससिइंदु विमाणिए ॥
"असपति कुतुवदीनु" मनि रंजिउ, दीठेलि जिणप्रभसूरीए ।

Jinacandra Sūri, the Paṭṭadhara of Jinaprabodha Sūri also pleased Sultan Kutabuddin.

कुतवदीन सुरतान राउ, रंजिउ स मणोहरु ।
जमि पयडउ जिणचंदसूरि, सूरिहि सिरसेहरु ॥३॥
—श्रीजिनकुशलसुरि पट्टाभिषेक रास ।

Now let us see who these Sultans are. Jinaprabha Sūri visited Muhammad Shahi in A.D. 1328. Muhammad bin Tughluq ascended the throne in A.D. 1325 and died in 1351, Muhammad Shahi therefore must be Muhammad Tughluq.

The emperor was a versatile genius and is said to have known many sciences. Ziauddin Barni and Ibn Batuta have given him a blood-thirsty character, but they are agreed about his profound scholarship, his mastery over logic, dialectics and Aristotelian philosophy. There was no doubt that he was a free-thinker and a rationalist, a man of culture and a friend of scholars. Ziauddin laments, "The dogmas of philosophers, which are productive of indifference and hardness of heart had a powerful influence over him.....The punishment of Musalmans and the execution

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of true believers with him became a practice and a passion."[1] On the other hand Brown says: "His staunch orthodoxy is reflected on nearly all his coins, not only in the reappearance of the Kallima, but in the assumption by the monarch of such titles as the warrior in the cause of God."[2]

It seems that he was simply following an old practice and was not very orthodox, for he was an admirer of Shaikh Nizamuddin Awliya, who indulged in *samā*, or ecstatic dance accompanied by music, which militated against strict orthodoxy. He put an inscription in Nāgrī on his token coins and is said to have favoured the use of Sanskrit on ceremonial days. He loved to hear arguments of doctors of religion and had anticipated Akbar who listened to such disputations in the Ibadatkhana at Fatehpur Sikri. It is no wonder therefore that he should have honoured the great Jain scholar and saint, Jinaprabha Sūri and his paṭṭadhara, Jinadeva Sūri. He is said to have honoured Simhakīrti, a great Jain logician from South India, who won renown at his court at Delhi by defeating professors of Buddhism and other dialecticians. This incident seems to have happened between A.D. 1326 and A.D. 1337.

In *Daśabhaktyādi-Mahāśāstra*, a Sanskrit kāvya of Munindra Vardhamāna[3] the following verses occur:

विद्यानन्दस्वामिनः सूनुवर्यः संजातः स सिंहकीर्तिर्व्रतीन्द्रः ।
ख्यातः श्रीमान् पूर्णचारित्रगात्रो दानस्वर्भूधेनुमन्दारदेशः ॥
वाभात्यश्वपतेर्दिनेशतनयो गङ्गाब्यदेशावृतः
श्रीमद्दिल्लिपुरेऽहम्मदसुरित्राणस्य माराकृतेः ।
निर्ज्जित्याशु सभावनौ जितगुरुबौद्धादि + + + व्रजम् ।
श्रीभट्टारकसिंहकीर्त्तिमुनिराड् नाव्यैकविद्यागुरुः ॥

In the Padmavati-vasti stone inscription of Humcca in the Nagara taluka (Mysore) occurs a corresponding passage, viz., वाभाति अश्वपतेर्दिने ततनयो वङ्गाख्य देशावृत श्रीमत् दिल्लिपुरे...मुद सुरित्राणस्य माराकृतेः निर्जित्याशु सभावनं जिनगुरुबौद्धादिवादि-वृजं श्रीभट्टारक-सिंहकीर्त मुनिरा...यैक-विदामगुरुः ।

Evidently "*Muda*" forms a part of the full word Muhammad (or Mahammad, almost always confounded with Mahmud) which became effaced or unreadable, but Rice takes it to mean *mild* (*muda*<*mudu*<*mṛdu*) and adds "Mahmud." Dr. Saletore reads "*tata na* bhūṣaṇāḍhya

1 Sir H. Elliott, *History of India*, vol. III, p. 236.

2 C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, pp. 73, 74.

3 Ms. No. 253/kha of the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana noticed in *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, 5, 3.

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deva-vṛta" and expresses surprise that Rice should have read it as "baṅgālya-deśāvṛta."[4]

The verses quoted from *Daśabhaktyādi-mahāśāstra* set all these doubts at rest by expressly mentioning the name Mahammada (and not...Muda) Suritrāna and Gaṅgāḍhyadeśa which is evidently Bengal, and give greater support to Rice.

The date of Vardhamāna, author of the *Daśa°*, has been conjectured by Dr. Saletore to be A.D. 1378 (by assigning 30 years each to the following teachers in the *guruparaṃparā* counting back from Viśālakīrti whose earliest date he supposes to have been A.D. 1468, thus Merunandi-Vardhamāna-Prabhācandra-Amarakīrti-Viśālakīrti) which seems to get support from the mention of his name in a Sravana Belgolā record of A.D. 1372.[5] But in the *Daśa°* occurs a śloka that Vardhamāna composed it in *Śake Vedakharābdhi candrakalite saṃvatsare Śrīplave siṃha śrāvaṇike prabhākaraśive-kṛṣṇāṣṭamī vāsare rohiṇyāṃ* i.e. in Śaka era 1463 (or 1464, if the Vedas be four and not three) = A.D. 1541. The exact date can, however, be ascertained from other particulars given about the *tithi*. Whatever be his date, the author has in the *Daśa°* incorporated many extracts from the lithic inscription of Nagara taluka and he being much nearer to the date of the inscription than we are, it may be presumed that he found them in a better state of preservation than in the last decade of the 19th century and in the 20th century. I think, therefore, his reading of the inscription may be accepted.

Jinaprabhasūri was an exceedingly erudite poet and scholar, and a distinguished Jain ācārya. Muni Jina Vijayaji says in the introduction of his edition of the *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri that the ācārya was greatly honoured at the court of Sultan Muhammad Shah even as much as Jagadguru Hīravijayasūri was at Akbar's court, and that perhaps he was the first saint to have glorified the Jaina dharma at the courts of Musalman Badshahs.[6]

From internal evidence his date can be ascertained. The earliest date of the composition of poems in this work is contained in the last stanza of

4 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, 8. 15; *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, 4. 4. containing a translation of Dr. B. A. Saletore's article in *Karnatak Historical Review*, IV, pp. 77-86; See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, pp. 370-71.

5 Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, p. 300.

6 In Singhi Jaina Granthamala Series, Visvabharati, Santiniketan.

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Vaibhāragirikalpa where occurs the first line thus: *Varṣe siddhâ sarasvadrasasikhhikumite Vikrame* which gives us V.S. 1364 (=A.D. 1307); completion of the work is indicated in the line *nandā-nekapaśakti sitagumite Śrīvikramorvīpate* which gives us V.S. 1389 (=A.D. 1332). From other passages in the work it appears that they were composed earlier than V.S. 1364 and later than V.S. 1389.

Extensive information of the activities of Jinaprabhasūri relating to our present subject matter is found in the work. The incident of the installation of the image of Mahāvīra brought from the city of Kannānaya is related in *Kanyānayanīya-Mahāvīra-pratimā-kalpa* (in Prakrit) thus:

The image was fashioned at the city of Kannānaya in the Cola country in V.S. 1233 (=A.D. 1176). When in V.S. 1248 (=A.D. 1191) Pṛthivīrāja (*Pahavirāyanariṃde*) the leader of the Cāhamāna clan was killed by Sahabadina,[7] Śreṣṭhī Rāmadeva sent a letter to the *śrāvakas:* "The kingdom of the Turks has begun. Keep the image of Mahāvīra hidden away". It was kept concealed in the sand at Kayamvasatthala, where it remained till V.S. 1311. In that year a great famine having occurred, a carpenter named Yojaka left Kannānaya for a more favourable country and came to Kayamvasatthala, where having been warned in a dream he discovered the image, which was then placed in a Caitya house and worshipped. Many disturbances occasioned by the Turks followed. The image perspired one day at the time of bathing and though wiped still perspired. This was an evil omen. On the following morning the Jat Rajputs made an incursion. In the year V.S. 1385 the Sikdar of Āsinagar came and imprisoned the *sādhus* and *śrāvakas* and broke the stone image of Pārśvanātha. But the image of Mahāvīra was transported safe and whole in a cart to Delhi and kept in the store house of the Sultan at Tughlakabad pending his orders. In course of time Śrī Mahammada Surattāna came from Devagiri to Joginipura. Once Jinaprabhasūri, the ornament of the Kharataragaccha sect, arrived in the course of his journey to Delhi. Having heard from Dhārā-dhara, the astronomer, the praise of the great erudition of the saint, he sent him to the saint and brought him on the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of Paus. The Sūri visited the Mahārājādhirāja who seated him close by his side, asked him about his welfare and conversed with him till midnight. He passed the night there

7 Muhammad Ghori.

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and was again summoned in the morning. The Sultan was delighted with the poetic skill of the Sūri and offered him a thousand cows, wealth, the chief garden, a hundred blankets, and clothes, and scents such as aguru, sandal, camphor etc. Then the *guru* respectfully declined to take them saying that these were not acceptable to sādhus (*Sādhūṇameyaṃ na kappai saṃbohiūna mahārāyaṃ paṭisiddham savvaṃ vatthu*). But on being pressed by the king and to honour him he accepted some blankets and clothes. Then the king caused him to dispute with scholars who came from many countries (*nānādesaṃtarāgaya paṃḍiyehiṃ saha vāyagoṭṭhiṃ kāravittā*), and was so pleased that he mounted him and the ācārya Jinadeva on two stately elephants and sent them to the accompaniment of varied music to the *posadhasālā*. Then the badshah (*pātasāhinā*) gave him a *firman* protecting all the Śvetāmbara order from harm. On another occasion the Sārvabhauma immediately granted him a *firman* affording protection to the *tīrthas* (places of pilgrimage) of Satrunjaya, Girnar, Phalabaddhi etc. On another occasion on a certain Monday when it was raining the Sūri came to the royal palace with his feet all muddy. The Mahārāja took a costly piece of cloth from Malikka Kafur and wiped them. The Sūri pleased him and regaled him with verses, at the excellence of which the king marvelled. Taking this opportunity he asked the favour of the Sultan's making over to him the image of Mahāvīra, which was then brought from the store at Tughlakabad, and presented to the Sūri in open court in the presence of the Malliks (Maliks). This was then installed by the entire Saṅgha in the *sarai* of Malik Tājadīna. Then establishing Jinadeva Sūri in his place at Delhi the Sūri went to the Maratha country, and by and by to Devagiri. Afterwards at Delhi Jinadeva Sūri saw the Sultan who showed great respect and made a gift of *sarai* which he named Surattānasarai. There the Sūri (*Kalikāla-cakkavaṭṭī*) built a *posadhasālā* and a *caitya*, wherein was established Śrī Mahāvīra.

In (no. 51) *Kanyānayamahāvīra-kalpapariśeṣa* further information regarding the Sūri is obtained. The Sūri got a *firman* from Muhammad Tughlak which secured the Caityas of Pethada, Sahaja, and Acala from molestation by the Turks. He is said to have crushed the pride of his opponents in disputation. Once during the course of a dissertation of the *śāstras* in the assembly of pandits, the emperor entertained some doubts and remembering the merits of the Sūri, said, "Had he been present here he would have easily resolved my doubts. Doubtless Bṛhaspati being vanquished by his

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intellectual superiority has quitted the earth and gone to the skies." At that time Tajalamallik arrived from Daulatabad and having touched his head to the earth (Kurnish) said: "The Mahātmā is there, but as the water there has not agreed with him, he has become emaciated." The emperor ordered the Mir, "O Mallik, proceed immediately to the Dubira-khāna (Secretariat), cause a *firman* to be written, and be sent to Daulatabad." It duly reached the Diwan of Daulatabad. Kutal Khan, the *nāyak* of the city, respectfully communicated the message of the *firman* to the Sūri, viz. that the emperor desired his presence at Delhi. The Sūri started and gradually came to Siri-allabapur-dugga (fort of Allabapur), then to Siroha, and ultimately met the emperor at Delhi. The latter enquired about his welfare in mild words, then kissed his hand with great affection (*cumbio sasineham gurūṇam karo*) and held him to his heart with great respect. The Sūri blessed him and proceeded to the *Suratānasarai posadha-sālā*. The emperor ordered the chief Hindu Rajas, also the great Maliks beginning with Śrī Dināra, to accompany him.

At another time in the month of Phalguna the emperor went out to receive his mother, Magadūma-i-Jahān, who was coming from Daulatabad and met her at Vaḍathūna. The Sūri was with him. The emperor afterwards gave him near his palace a splendid house (*abhinavasarāi*) to dwell in, and himself named it *bhaṭṭarāya-sarai*. Then in V.S. 1389 (*terasayaṇavāsia-varise* A.D. 1332), on the 7th day of black fortnight in the month of Āṣāḍha, the Sūri entered the *posadhasālā* with great eclat, music etc. On another occasion in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa the emperor started on his march of conquest of the eastern quarters (*puvvadisajaya jattāpatthiyeṇa*) and was accompanied by the Sūri. The latter recovered the Mathura *tīrtha*. Thinking that the camp life must have been greatly troubling the Sūri the emperor sent him back to Delhi from Agra in company with Khoje Jahāṃ Malika. Taking the *firman* (pass-port) from the emperor for going to Hatthināpura the Sūri returned to his own place.....The Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras under the authority of the Imperial *firman* went about everywhere without let or hindrance.

The punctilious detail with which the events have been described inclines one to believe that they were not altogether imaginary. The manner of bowing to the Sultan, and the latter's kissing the hand indicate clearly the familiar court manners.

Now let us examine the authenticity of the personages mentioned in

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the *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*. It has been said that the Sultan went out in full military array to greet his mother, Magadūma-i-Jahān, when she was coming back from Daulatabad and met her at Vaḍathūna (Badaon?).

According to the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi* the first migration (transference of capital) to Devagiri occurred in 727 A.H. =A.D. 1326-27), when the Sultan carried with him his mother Makhdum-i-Jahan, the amirs, maliks, and other notable persons, with horses, elephants, and treasure of the state.[8] It appears that in V.S. 1385 (=A.D. 1328) the emperor returned to Delhi (which seems to be corroborated by contemporary history) from Devagiri while his mother stayed behind. Allowing time for the Sūri's journey to Deogiri, his stay there and his return to Delhi, the incident of his mother's return is likely to have happened in A.D. 1331 after which in V.S. 1389 (A.D. 1332) the Sūri entered the *posadhasālā* which was given to him by the Sultan. When the Sultan was proceeding to Multan to chastise the rebel Shahu Afghan, he had not advanced far when the news came that his revered mother Makhdūma-i-Jahān had died at Delhi. She was a lady of great talents.....the Sultan was overpowered with grief. He tendered sincere respect to his mother, the dowager queen who enjoyed her regal state throughout her life.[9]

It is said that the Sultan went out to conquer the east. Rebellions were rife. In 1335 when Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah of Ma'bar revolted, the Sultan marched in person to chastise him. In 1337 there were rebellions in Bengal. It is to one of these that the text probably refers. Kutalakhan was Qutlugh Khan, a title conferred on Qiyam-aldin, the Sultan's tutor. He also received from the Sultan another title, *Vakil-i-dar*. He was a man of integrity and was placed in charge of Devagiri. His recall from Devagiri (745 A.H.) greatly depressed the people there.[10]

Khoje Jahan Malik is the title of Khwaja Jahan conferred as a reward for his service on Ahmad Ayaz, the engineer who built the notorious pavilion (at Afghanpur) which caused the death of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak. He also held the office of Wazirul-Mulk.[11]

8 Dr. Iswari Prasad—*History of the Qaraunah Turks in India*, vol. I, p. 84.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 172, 310; Elliott, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 146, 171; Elliott, *op. cit.*, pp. 251, 253. App. 571, Kasaid of Badr Chach.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 83. He was also Malik Zada Ahmad, son of Ayas; Elliott, *op. cit.*, p. 610.

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'Ubaid the poet spread false rumour that Sultan Ghiyasuddin was seriously ill and went to Malik Tamar, Malik Tigin....., Malik Kafur, the keeper of the seal, and told the nobles that Ulugh Khan looked upon them with suspicion. Ghiyasuddin held a public Durbar in the plain of Siri, when 'Ubaid the poet and Kafur the seal-keeper and other rebels were flayed alive."[12] So he could not be the person from whose hands Muhammad Tughlaq took the towel to wipe the Sūri's feet.

No date is available in the poems with regard to Qutbuddin. We however know the date of Jina Candra Sūri, the Paṭṭadhara of Jinaprabodha Sūri. He was born in V.S. 1324 (A.D. 1267) and died in V.S. 1376 (A.D. 1319), Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah, the Khilji emperor, ascended the throne in A.D. 1316 and was assassinated in A.D. 1320. "Qutbuddin" of the poems therefore seems to refer to him. "Under Mubarak Shah Khilji" says Elphinstone, "the whole spirit of the court and administration was Hindu." The meeting might have taken place in A.D. 1318, before the degenerate Khusrau cast his evil influence on him and brought about first his spiritual and then his physical death.

We know from other sources that Sultan Mubarak Shah appointed Samara Singh, a great Jain of Patan, to an important post (*vyavahārī*) at Delhi. Ghiyasuddin Tughlak regarded Samar Singh as his son and sent him to Telingana, where he built many Jain temples. Muhammad Tughluk looked upon him as his brother-and made him governor of Telingana. Jinaprabha Sūri and Mahendra Sūri were favourites of the Sultan.

Of Mahendra Sūri Nayacandra says:[13]

एकः सोऽयं महात्मा न पर इति नृपश्रीमहम्मादसाहे ।
स्तोत्रं प्रापत् स पापं क्षपयतु भगवान श्रीमहेन्द्रः प्रभुर्नः ॥

KALIPADA MITRA

12 Elliott. *op. cit.*, pp. 203, 608. App. D from Travels of Ibn Batuta who says that the Prince had gone to Telingana with principal Amirs, viz., Maliks Timur, Tigin, Kafur the seal-bearer. He formed designs to revolt and made the poet 'Ubaid spread false rumour about Ghiyasuddin Tughluk, who put 'Ubaid and Kafur to death.

13 *Proceedings of the 7th Oriental Conference*, p. 630.

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Early Indian Jewellery*

It is almost impossible to say anything about what the numerous female figurines in terracotta stood for. A number of scholars have been unanimous in pointing out that there are several characteristics in these figures from which the figures may be identified as a female divinity who was widely worshipped in the west-Asiatic countries.

It is a well known fact that enormous treasures in the shape of precious ornaments accumulate in Indian temples as offerings to the presiding deities from their devotees and there is a practice to bedeck the images with such ornaments. A study of the Indian images from very early times down to recent age shows that these were often bedecked with actual representations of ornaments. From this we may infer that the ornaments shown on the terracotta figures found in the Indus valley might in all probability be the attempted representations of actual ornaments which were in vogue at that time.

A general survey of the ornaments displayed on these figures is now complete. It appears that the male folk of that age used to wear a broad fillet round their heads as also armlets of similar type. It is difficult to say if they wore any other type of ornament to decorate other parts of the body. But from the nude terracotta figurine and the seated yogic figure it is evident that the practice of adorning the male body with numerous necklaces, bracelets and earrings was not unknown. The women usually wore earrings, necklaces, bracelets and armlets, elaborate girdles and anklets of various types. But the fashion, as would be evident from the bronze figures, might have been different among women of different social standing.

Head-ornaments

Adornment of the head, as it appears both from these figures as well as actual finds, was a thing of much care among the chalcolithic people. We came across several types of head ornaments in course of our survey of the human figures of which the broad diadems and the 'V' shaped fillets deserved

* Continued from vol. XVIII, p. 59.

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particular notice. A few ornaments of both these types were actually found in course of excavation.

The ordinary diadems appear like broad ribbons made of plain, beaten, thin sheets of gold. Of these diadems, found in hoard no. 2, one measuring 16·5″ long and 0·55″ wide has got a very interesting design embossed on its body towards the ends. Probably the design was embossed with some pointed instrument.[46] This design has a close affinity to the peculiar stand which occurs so frequently on the seals. Sir John Marshall is of opinion that the peculiar thing represented a cult object.[47] The rest of the diadems are more or less of the same length and breadth; they taper towards their ends where there are small holes, evidently for passing thread to fasten the ornament behind the head. A diadem measuring 6·2″ by 0·75″ has a row of small holes along one of its longer edges. These holes, it appears, were meant to accommodate a number of small pendents. An example of a broad forehead fillet, from the lower edge of which hangs a number of small pendents may be traced on the fragment of a terracotta female figure found at Dallin.[48] The type, curiously enough, survived for long.

Mention has already been made of the peculiar angular fillets found in hoard no. 2.[49] In all, there are only three of this type, each of which measures about half an inch in width. Long arms of the fillets are seen to bend at the middle assuming the shape of a 'V'. The arms have tapering rounded ends, having small holes like the others for fastening. Tiny little holes are also to be noticed at the angular ends. Dr. Mackay thinks that these holes were meant for suspending heavy nose ornaments.[50] The question of nose ornament has already been discussed above. Moreover the angular forehead ornament noticed on one of the terracotta figures above does not display any such attached nose ornament. The fillet seen on this figure, however, has got its surface decorated with deep criss cross lines, while actual objects do not show any such ornamentation.[51]

A number of these diadems was found in coiled up condition. It appears that when not in use the fillets were kept rolled up. Several

46 *MIC.*, p. 527, pl. cxviii, fig. 14. Cf. *Palace of Minos at Knossos*, vol. I, pp. 67, 96

47 *MIC.*, p. 527.

48 *ASIAR.*, 1929 30, pl. xxxiii, fig.i.

49 *Ibid.*, 1925-26 pl. xli.

50 *MIC.*, p. 527f.

51 *ASIAR.*, 1925-26, pl. xxxvi, a.

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such fillets, in rolled up condition, are known to have been found from the grave of queen Sub-ad in Ur.[52] Traces of silver detected round the skulls of several skeletons found in the same grave led Sir Leonard Wooley to conclude that the habit of wearing diadems of silver was quite common among the women of Ur. Finds of actual diadems of silver were reported from various sites of Mesopotamia like Sumer and Kish.[53]

It may be pointed out here that fillets, so far found in the Indus valley, are all objects of gold while the diadems used in Sumeria happened to be made of silver.

The practice of wearing forehead fillets survived in India for long and may be traced as late as those upon figures represented on the monuments of Bārhut and Sāñcī.[54]

Hair of most of the female figures rest covered under the peculiar headdresses. It, however, appears probable, that the females usually grew long hair and arranging of hair in different ways could not be possible without the help of hair pins. The representation of a hair pin was already noticed to occur on a male figure, whose hair is shown arranged in a knot. A number of pin-shaped objects also, discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, has been identified as hairpins. These objects are usually made of long stems surmounted by knobs of different shape.

Some of these objects deserve special notice due to the artistic executions of the knobs. One of these made of bronze, measuring 4·4″ in height has its stem crowned by two tiny antelopes standing back to back. These antelopes have spirally twisted horns and ingeniously formed shoulders.[55] Another interesting pin of ivory, the stem of which is lost has its top shaped in the form of an ibex. The animal, having a somewhat relaxed body, is placed on a rectangular piece, from underneath of which probably issued three different shafts in its original state.[56]

It is interesting to note that these are the only specimens of personal ornaments found from Indus valley which have parts of them shaped in the forms of animal. Indus valley jeweller had a predilection for high polish in case of metal surface and geometric or symbolic designs in case of other

52 Wooley, *Ur of the Chaldees*, p. 46.

53 Wooley, *The Somerians*, fig. 17; Mackay, *Report of Excavation in Kish*, pl. iv, 24.

54 Maisey—*Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. xviii.

55 *ASIAR*., 1929-30, p. 106; pl. xxxiii, fig. i. 56 *MIC*., p. 531, pl. clviii

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elements. On the other hand animal and even human shapes came to be a common feature in the ornaments of Egypt, Greece and various other ancient countries. In India, however, animals never gained any great popularity in jeweller's art. In Egypt, where there is quite a number of hairpins surviving from the ancient age, the pins are almost invariably found crowned with animal shapes. The Scythians, who excelled in shaping animal forms had also a great fascination for incorporating animal motifs in jewellery. Foreign influence is probably responsible for the reluctantly used animal shapes in Indian jewellery-forms.

Besides the pins mentioned above there are many circular disc shaped objects having holes drilled halfway through the centres of the discs on one side. These have been identified as hairpin heads. The holes were apparently drilled for the purpose of accommodating some sort of stem which used to be made of perishable material and have hence decayed.[57] These circular things are mostly made of steatite or faience; each of these measures about 0·88″ in diameter. The upper surface of almost each of the discs has got a four point star device at the middle surrounded on all sides by a thick rope or herring-bone pattern which runs along the edge of the disc, resulting in an extremely artful combination.

The four point star happened to be a very favourite decorative device of the Indus valley people. Excepting these discs, the device occurs on a number of decorated vessels and many other broken pottery sherds. The design was also known to the artist of Egypt but in Egypt it was never so much extensively used as in India.[58] Sir Flinders Petrie claimed Egypt to be the mother of almost all the decorative devices which gained currency in the artistic world.[59] It is, however, difficult to say wherefrom this four point star motif derived its origin.

Ear-ornaments

In course of surveying the human figurines above there had been occasion to refer to ear ornaments. It is usually difficult to trace any ear ornament on these figures excepting a few. The ear ornaments could not be

57 *MIC.*, p. 531f. pl. clviii, 2, 4, 6 imitate capsules of some variety of lotus or water lily.

58 Perrot & Chipiez, *op. cit.*, fig. 305; Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art* p. 32, 48; Petrie, *Arts and crafts in Egypt*, fig. 101.

59 Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art*, p. 5.

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shown on the terracotta figurines because of the high headdresses, pannier like objects or peculiar arrangement of the hair. In practice probably, the ears remained concealed under these decorations. Actual diggings have, however, revealed objects which cannot but be identified as ear ornaments.

Of these, two tiny circular pieces of gold, (each measuring 1·2″ in diameter) discovered at Mohenjo-daro are worthy of special notice. Each of these circular bits hollows towards one side like a funnel at the point of which there is a small hole. Towards the inner side of the funnel a hollow tube is soldered at the face of the hole. Each of these tube measures 0·5″ long and 0·27″ in diameter and slightly tapers towards the end. This arrangement was probably meant for passing an additional broader tube having closed top so that the studs could be kept in position. Besides high polish, the lusture of which still remains on the surface of the gold, each stud was decorated with a tiny bead moulding along the outer circumference, causing a novel pattern. The objects require no further explanation to be identified as ear studs. With their high polish, neat decoration of bead mouldings and the clever arrangement for wearing, the studs survive as two very commendable specimens of early Indian jewellery.[60]

Attention should be drawn to the close similarity of these studs and the floral studs known as '*karṇaphul*', extensively worn by women of various parts of India at the present time. The survival of the form can be traced all through the periods of history and affords an example of how very ancient ornament forms survived for long without any great change.

A curious drop, made of tiny copper and faience beads, discovered at Mohenjo-daro, has to be mentioned in this connection, because the object appears to have been an ear drop. It has a dilapidated wire which issues out of the cluster of the beads and had probably the shape of a hook in its original state. This device was evidently meant for suspending the drop from dilated earlobe.[61]

Among the silver objects found at Mohenjo-daro there is a pair of slightly oval shaped rings which I am tempted to identify as earrings. Plain thin sheets of silver were first made into tubes, the edges of which remained separated from each other by about 0·15″ These tubes were then bent to assume the shapes of oval rings. At the two ends of each ring, which however, did not quite meet, were drilled small holes, evidently

60 *MIC.*, p. 194; pl. cli, 7, 8.

61 *MIC.*, pl. cxliii, fig. 2.

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for passing threads. The practice of wearing earrings with the help of threads still survive among various people of India. Judging from the narrow circumference and the oval shape, not to speak of the peculiar device of threading, the rings look more like earrings than ordinary bracelets. The earrings of queen Sub-ad of Ur present an almost similar type.[62]

There is a number of small circular studs, both at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, the stems from many of which are, however, lost. One of these studs has a short, broad topped stem, attached to its back. This device was meant for wearing the ornament through some pierced portion of the body. Dr. Mackay has identified it as a nose stud.[63] Many of the other studs have got their circular tops decorated with four point star decorations.

Besides these ornaments, there are numerous small rings made of thin wires of copper, among the metal objects found from the excavated sites. It appears that some of these rings which could neither be worn as arm ornaments nor as finger rings were, in all probability, used as adornments of ear. Similar rings of brass, silver or even copper are still worn by persons of both the sexes in various parts of India as earrings.

Neck-ornaments

The adornment of the neck has always been considered as a thing of great importance to the lovers of jewellery and the wearers of jewellery in the Indus Valley devoted much care and energy to adorn their necks. And, as it happened at all times, the neck ornament of the female folk, it appears from the existing figures of clay, were elaborate objects of different type varying from tight fitting collars to long dalliers.

In case of some clay figures the neck ornaments appear to be representations of chains. No actual chain, which could be used as neck ornament has yet been discovered from the excavated sites. Other types of neck ornaments in these clay figures are shown by means of peculiarly set strips and pellets of clay. Mention has already been made of numerous beads and pendents of different material, found from all over the excavated sites. Though no actual neck ornament has yet been discovered in tact from any of these sites yet it may be easily presumed from these beads and pendents that most of the neck ornaments in case of the

62 *ASIAR.*, 1924-25, pl. xx, c. For the earrings of Sub-ad see Wooley, *Ur. of the Chaldees*, pl. iv, fig. 1.

63 *MIC.*, pl. clii, fig. 7, p. 528.

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clay figures indicated by the pellets of clay represented actual objects made of similar beads and pendents.

The abundance of beads and pendents reveals that these objects were extensively used and were very popular as elements for the manufacture of jewellery. These beads etc. were made mostly of stone, but metal like gold, silver and copper, alloys like bronze, objects like shell and paste and even terracotta were also freely used for the manufacture of these things.

In one particular case some beads were found to survive within a jar, secured in a thread in the form of a string. The string, however, disintegrated at the attempt to remove it from the jar. It is clear that threads in these strings, unlike the metal wires used in the strings found in places like Egypt, were made of such perishable material as cotton. As such threads could easily rot away due to constant use, the beads and pendents frequently escaped from the strings. This is a reason why we get so many of stray beads scattered through the excavated sites. The beads surviving in the jars, appear to have been put inside the pots in original unbroken form but due to decay of the threads in almost all the cases no one was found in an undisintegrated condition, nor there is any clue to restore these to their original state. Though the particular one mentioned above survived in tact, the decay of the thread at the very first touch rendered it equally useless for the determination of its original form.

The shape, size, colour, polish and many other similar details regarding these beads have given rise to various problems regarding their origin, date, the extent of area over which different types could be traced during different periods, and the like. Though the technical study of these problems is more a subject of Anthropology, yet some observations on the quality of the beads may not be far fetched in a study like this, which is primarily aesthetic, for a greater understanding of the comparative value of the ornaments found from the different west-Asiatic countries.

Beads of different material had different technical process of manufacture. Beads of metal were usually made by casting the metal in suitable moulds. But beads made of beaten thin pieces of metal soldered together are also not rare. The beads of stone were probably first pieced out from suitable stones and then put into shape by flaking and constant rubbing on some harder surface. Much care was taken to cut, polish and bore these beads. Boring of the hard stones was a difficult job and was probably accomplished by means of a sort of pin shaped copper rod, the

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like of which was extensively found from the excavated sites at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Beads were probably bored from either ends because in some cases discrepancies can be traced at the centres where the two holes met. But such discrepancies are rare and in majority of cases borings were done with much care and the irregularities were polished off by rubbing, so that the translucency of the beads was in no way jeopardised. Some of the beads made of steatite have got astonishingly tiny size. Their holes were so tiny that they could have been strung on hair or threads having similar thinness. The size of the beads has made Dr. Mackay wonder as to how they could be made.[64]

The greatest skill in respect of bead making was shown by the Indus valley craftsman in making beads of faience. Faience, as has already been said, was a compound of silica and flux; and the hot and molten liquid was made to assume the requisite shape by being cast in moulds. Among the faience beads quite a number shows traces of beautiful colour which used to be added to the compounds, before the compounds were put into the furnace. Faience beads have also been found at Ur and Kish and also in Egypt. In Egypt these occur during the XIIth dynasty. Some scholars think that such beads were not manufactured in Egypt but were imported there from outside.[65] It may be possible that the technique of manufacturing faience was originally discovered in India.

Beads found from the ancient sites have always been a thing of great interest to the archaeologists as these objects have been found to supply very important clues leading to correct dating of ancient sites. Detailed technical information regarding the beads may be looked up in the volumes brought out by the Archaeological Survey of India on these proto-historic sites. The aesthetic value of the beads and how best they were used could fully be realised, however, only if the method of matching the colours and size of the different beads in the original strings was known. How creditably the Indus Valley jeweller matched the different colours in the strings and how developed was his sense of colour and adjustment of shapes can, however, be guessed to some extent from some of the strings recomposed by the 'Department'

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65 T. G. Allen, *Handbook of the Egyptian Collection*, p. 113.

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pearl and diamond in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Dr. Mackay is of opinion that such stones were not worked in those places due to their extreme hardness.[66] Pearl became the most popular element for the manufacture of beads in India during the historic period. In the Indus Valley we find an extensive use of shells but pearl is conspicuous by its absence.

About fifteen varieties of beads can be traced among the finds of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Besides these, along with these objects have often been found pawn shaped objects of various shapes, grooved at the top and in most cases there are holes drilled through them from end to end. In case of several such objects gold wires are found passed through the holes and formed into loops at the top of the pawns. Evidently these were used in the strings as pendents.

Besides these pendents of usual type, several other objects have also been identified as some sort of pendent. Of these the heart-shaped objects deserve special notice. Of these heart-shaped objects mention has already been made of one of gold found at Harappa. It is made of thin sheet of gold beaten out from behind into three concentric heart shaped designs in which the sunken surfaces between the raised rims were inlaid with ribbed bands of blue faience. On the reverse side there are hooks attached at the top, evidently meant for suspending the object from a string. The object is, however, unique of its kind and can easily be commended as an object of high aesthetic and technical value.

Two other heart-shaped objects were also found at Harappa, one made of faience and the other of steatite. The one of faience tapers towards the edge and has a hole made at the base, for attachment. The tip of the object is sharply pointed. The object was probably originally covered with some glaze which can no longer be traced.[67] The other one has got no peculiarity to note and was recovered in a fragmentary condition.

The heart motif is one of the earliest decorative elements discovered by man and was extensively used in the Indus valley as a common design for vase decoration and other purposes. Its earliest occurrence as a symbolic design can be traced in paintings of the cave dwellers of Spain.[68] In some of the seals found in the Indus valley also, where it occurs on the body of animals depicted on them, the design have been used to convey some symbolic meaning. Its association with magic appear to be responsible for

66 *MIC.*, p. 509. 67 Vats, *op. cit.*, p. 411

68 Von Herbert Kuhn, *Die mlerei Derszeit*, p. 42.

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its name and probably, from the very beginning of its inception, the heart motif came to be regarded as a portent embodying the magic force of life. Till recently heart-shaped pendents of gold were extensively in use in Bengal, and its association with ornaments as necklace pendents reveal the great antiquity of some modern ornament forms and the queer continuity of belief in magic.

Of the other objects which appear to have been used for the same purpose a crescent shaped bead of banded agate deserves some notice. That it was used in some string which might have been used as a neck wear is evident, and it is interesting to mention in this connection that exactly similar beads of banded agate are still found to be worn by children in Bengal as portents.

Wherever heaped up in piles, these beads and pendents are found to have among them two very interesting type of objects; one is a semi-circular piece, usually made of metal; the other a flat rectangular piece made either in gold, silver, copper or stone. The semi-circular objects are in most case hollow and have small holes at their apices. The flat strips have usually two to six holes through them.

The association of these objects with the beads and the pendents goes beyond doubt to prove that they had something to do with the strings which were made with those beads etc. Bead-strings were extremely popular in India throughout the early period in history and representation of these strings occur freely on the sculpture of the contemporary age. A figure at Bodhgaya, dated about first century B.C., has got the representation of a girdle of uniform globular beads.[69] The beads appear arranged in three rows, spaced after three beads in each row by means of a thin flat rectangular spacer through which the threads of the string pass. Similar strings with spacer arrangements are also found on the decorative elephants on gateways at Bharut and Sanchi.[70] In these representations at Bharut and Sanchi again the strings are found to terminate at one end in a peculiar semi-circular terminal having very close affinity to the semi-circular objects mentioned above. From these representations there remain little doubt regarding the fact that the rectangular and the semi-circular objects found in the Indus valley sites were not different from the spacers and terminals which were used in the composition of strings.

69) Bachhofer—*E.I.S.*, pl. 39.

70 Maisey, *Sanchi etc.*, pl. xvii.

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The use of almost similar spacers and terminals fundamentally of the same shape may also be traced in the neck-strings made of gold and silver beads which are still in use in Northern India. The continuity of the technique for such a long time is an interesting phenomenon. This is, however, a very simple way of composing strings of beads, and almost all the bead-strings used in the Indus valley were probably made in this process.

As has already been said, no string has survived in original state and the strings cannot be studied in their true perspective. Yet the Archaeological Department have recomposed a number of beads etc. discovered from the excavated sites into a few strings of different variety. Among these recomposed strings some appear to be quite shapely and true, to some extent, to some of the original strings. But in a number of other cases shown in the 'Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization', where there are terminals though these are only single string compositions, appear to be quite illogical.

Of the strings which appear to have some resemblance to some of the originals a few deserve particular notice for their beauty, technical quality and the long continuity of the types. Five spacers, two terminals and 240 uniform globular beads found close together, which probably constituted one string have been re-made by the 'Department' into a string of exceeding beauty. As there are five holes in each spacer the beads have been arranged in five rows; the rows are spaced by three spacers and the two remaining spacers serve as the base of the terminals. The ornament was identified by Dr. Mackay as a bracelet. Usually arm ornaments may be expected in pairs. A number of very tiny beads, spacers and terminals found at Harappa were actually re-made into a pair of wrist bands in the same technique. In the above case the ornament appears to be a bit too long to be used as a bracelet. On the other hand ornaments very much resembling this one may still be found used in northern India by women as 'kaṇṭhī' or neck-collar. Neck-collars were in vogue in the Indus valley as is evident from the clay figures mentioned above and I am in favour of identifying the object as a chalcolithic neckwear, the archetype of the 'kaṇṭhīs' of the later age, the shape of thing having changed very little in course of its long continuity. Worn at the end of a slender neck the yellow of the polished gold was sure to create a nice effect.[71]

71 *MIC.*, p. 522; pl. cxlix, 3.

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Next we shall take note of a rather unusually long string recomposed from 42 long barrel shaped beads of carnelian. The beads have been arranged in rows of six strands and the rows are divided into compartments by copper spacers which are flanked by globular beads of copper, some of which are covered by gold. Dr. Mackay is in favour of identifying the ornament as a necklace but it might, as it appears from its length, be a girdle as well.[72]

A number of light green barrel shaped beads of jade, 25 discular beads of gold and seven pendents of agate jasper found together in a container at Mohenjo-daro were recomposed by the 'Department' into a string of unsurpassed beauty. The pendents of jasper have thick gold wires thinned out and coiled two or three times at their proximal ends to form loops. The string have been made by passing a thread through the barrel shaped beads, the discular reels of gold and the loops of the pendents. All the pendents are at the centre while the barrel shaped beads placed on either side of the pendents are separated from each other by groups of the discular reels, there being five discs in each group. The beads and the pendents show high finish and exquisite workmanship and though it cannot be definitely said whether the string really resemble its original shape yet in whichever arrangement these might have been, the ultimate merit of the string cannot be overpraised. The colour of the pendents, the smooth refractiveness of the jade beads and the shining quality of the gold reels bespeak a well developed sense of colour and craftsmanship almost reaching a state of sophistication.[73]

Besides these beads and pendents now available in a threaded form numerous other beads and pendents were found from all over the excavated sites of Indus valley which with or without the help of the accompanying spacers and terminals may be re-made into a good many other strings of similar merit. It may here be pointed out that the technique of composing bead-strings with the help of almost similar terminals and spacers was not only known in India alone but may also be traced in a very distant country like Egypt. In an XVIII Dynasty grave at Giza in Egypt were discovered a few necklaces, bracelets and anklets sticking to the bones of a number of skeletons. These strings were all made of beads of different types in a process noticed above, with the help of semicircular ter-

72 *MIC.*, p. 520; pl. cli, bottom.

73 *MIC.*, p. 519; pl. cxlviii, a.

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minals and zig-zag shaped spacers of gold. Occurrence of strings made in this process is very rare in Egypt and is not known during other Dynasties excepting the XVIIIth and these strings were probably used only to adorn the dead bodies. On the other hand strings made in this technique enjoyed wide popularity in India and its continuity can be traced from the chalcolithic age down to the modern times. From these facts it may not be unreasonable to think that the technique was an original discovery of India and it was brought into Egypt by way of trade.[74]

The strings noticed above are mostly of considerable length and were probably used as neck and waist ornaments. But there are at least two short strings which cannot but be identified as wrist bands. These two ornaments were made of little beads with tiny spacers and terminals of equally suitable dimensions, all made of gold. These were recovered along with other ornaments at Harappa. From these ornaments it is evident that strings made in the above mentioned technique could also be used as arm ornaments. Such ornaments occur in Egypt as anklets too but whether these could be used here also to the same end cannot be said.

Arm-ornaments

Among the arm ornaments which were in use in India from very early time the occurrence of bead-strings are not rare but the usual common and widely worn form of arm ornament always had been of the shape of some sort of a ring. We may now pass on to the rings discovered in the Indus valley, the number of which is by no means insignificant. A good many of these rings appear to have been worn as ornaments of the arm.

A number of these rings occurs in different metal. These rings have, however, been found in very bad states of preservation and many will never be restored to their original states.

Some of these rings were made of thin sheets of metal. These sheets were first made into tubes of different shape and it appears that these tubes were originally filled with some sort of core, probably bitumen, which melted away in course of time. It may be pointed out here that rings made of metal tubes are still widely worn all over India and are known as *vālā* (=Sanskrit *valaya*=bracelet). In these modern bracelets cores of shellac are widely used. From the point of using some core to harden the

74 Hasan, *Excavations at Giza*, p. 44; pl. lxxviii, lxxiv.

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metal tubes the Indus valley craftsman had already passed the earlier stages of evolution and the rings had already assumed a definite shape upon which little fundamental change was made during the subsequent age.

Very few metal rings have been found in any fair state of preservation but the technique in which these rings were made appear to have been more or less the same. The tubes in the rings were made by joining the sheets inside the rings, the edges of the sheets sometimes only met, sometimes they were allowed to overlap securing the core inside. The two ends of the rings, after being bent to assume shape, were probably cut with a saw. Sometimes there are found two small holes drilled at these ends, evidently to pass some sort of thread. It appears that after the rings were worn the two ends of the threads were fastened so that the ends of the rings might not get widened allowing them to escape from the arms. It is interesting to note that the surface of the metals were in all these rings, left without any decoration and the merit of these bracelets lay in the high polish of their surface. We have examples of works of granulation and even inlay but it cannot, however, be explained why, the polished metal surface was usually preferred to any undulated, embossed, granulated or any other form of decoration.

The rings of faience shell and terracotta have generally been found in fragmentary conditions. In some bangles of faience and shell, the outer surfaces of the rings happened to be decorated with one, two, or three deep grooving or relief of a herringbone pattern.[75] The herringbone pattern is a very widely used decorative design of the Indus valley and can be seen to occur frequently on the earthenware vases. This design can be traced also in Egypt.[76] Why it came to be so closely associated with the bracelets cannot be definitely said. Several other designs may also be traced but the herringbone design was liked most.

Of the rings found intact, a pair of faience ornaments deserves special notice because of the peculiar heart-shaped form of the rings and the deeply serrated edges. The inner side of the rings are regularly polished and it appears probable that the rings were used as wristlets. This peculiar pair of bracelets was discovered at Harappa.[77]

75 *MIC.*, pl. cxxxiv, 1—also figs. 5-7.
76 Petrie, *Decorative Art of Egypt*, p. 51, figs. 91, 92.
77 *ASI., AR.*, 1934-35, pl. xi, fig. 30.

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A nice specimen of terracotta bracelet discovered in an undamaged condition in a pit at Mohenjo-daro shows that ornaments made in terracotta were also made with sufficient care. The practice of using terracotta ornaments was prevalent. Made of fine clay the object was given a very smooth surface and a slip of pink paint to make it attractive. Its pair is missing.[78]

The copper rings which are so numerous have been found to occur mostly in simple form. They were usually made by unceremonious bending of wires of very little thickness. Of these rings some are too small in diameter and were probably meant to be worn either as finger or as ear rings. There is a curious ring of silver having a squrae bezel showing a Maltese cross on it. The existing of this object shows that the use of finger rings was also in vogue. The practice of sealing documents with rings of personal use has been a very common one in Egypt, Greece, Mesopotamia and India and it may not be unreasonable to think that the bezel seen on the ring mentioned above served a similar purpose.[79]

Other ornaments

Reference has already been made to two peculiar gold ornaments while describing the hoard of jewellery found at Harappa. Each of these ornaments has 27 conical bosses of gold soldered together in an ingenious device, seven placed at the middle while the remaining twenty surround them on all sides. At each end of the ornaments is found a small hook which was evidently meant for accommodating some sort of fastener. Rings made of similar bosses, usually made of silver are still now found as a popular ornament among the women of northern India. These are now known as Kaḍā. It is quite possible that the beautiful ornaments which occur in pair were also meant for the adornment of arm.[80]

The account of personal ornaments discovered from the Indus valley sites is not complete without a description of the peculiar S-shaped object referred to above. At the base of the object there is a flat S-shaped plate of silver. On this plate were soldered the tiny beads of gold symmetrically bent to assume the peculiar shape. It is then inlaid with two rows of tiny cylindrical beads of burnt steatite capped with gold ends. In each of the two loops formed within the plate there are pinholes, evidently for attach-

78 *MIC.*, p. 528; pl. cliii, 12. 79 *MIC.*, p. 520; pl. cxlviii, A, fig. 13.
80 Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, p. 64. pl. lxxxvii, 6, 20,

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ment. Mr. Vats is of opinion that the thing could be worn as an attachment to wearing-apparels as a brooch. On the other hand it may be pointed out that the object has close affinity to the modelled buckles seen on the girdles of the figures of clay. It is evident from these figures that several types of girdle buckles were in use but no actual specimen excepting this one is found to have any similarity to these modelled buckles. It may not be unreasonable to think that this one is a surviving specimen of the type of buckles which were actually in use.

We have ended with a brief account of the forms and the techniques of the principal specimens of ornaments recovered from the chalcolithic sites of India. 'Trinkets' observed Mayers 'are closely connected with dress and costume; and like them objects of fashion.' He had also very aptly said that the form and finish of ornaments are governed not only by fashion and taste of each period but also by the technical skill of the workman. It may further be added that what has been said by Mayers is not all. Jewellery forms are also conditioned by the peculiar artistic tendencies of the different people which make these ornaments. The mutual influence of neighbouring people upon each other are also very often found reflected in the artistic activities of both.

Very little is known regarding the dress and costume of the Indus valley people. Of a people living in a moist tropical atmosphere nature usually demands their body to be kept bare. From literature as well as sculpture of ancient India it appears that the early inhabitants of the country maintained, irrespective of sex, the tradition of going with as little clothing as possible. Bare body eventually affords a complete freedom in the use and display of personal ornaments in as many varieties as human fancy may conceive. Keeping the body bare as well as going with loads of personal ornaments on have been considered by many people as barbarous but the advantages of both these habits have always been exploited by the Indian jeweller to the fullest extent. From the sculptural remains and the actual ornaments found in the Indus valley it may not be unreasonable to think that these earliest inhabitants of the country were not far removed from their successors in both these practices.

The taste of the period can be guessed to a certain extent from the bronze, stone and the terracotta figures discussed above. The figure showing a dignified personality clad in a shawl displays a fillet around the head and an armlet around the surviving upper arm. It does not show any

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neck wear. Does it suggest that people of noble origin did not favour the wearing of any neck ornament?

The figures of the two dancing statuettes show a peculiar way of adorning ones arms. Dr. Mackay suggests that this might be a peculiar fashion prevailing among the dancing women. The numerous terracotta figures, however, suggest that like the Indians of the early historic age the Indus valley people also took delight in wearing as many ornaments on the adornable parts of the body and this provided sufficient scope for the jeweller to formulate his ornaments in as many varieties as possible.

The technical knowledge of the Indus valley jeweller was of an advanced character; the steps in the progress of their achievement cannot, however, be traced. Study in the evolution of technical knowledge shows that the artist began from a very simple state. The earliest ornaments, as has already been said, were flowers and creepers, tree leaves and feathers of birds, claws and bones of animal, etc. Introduction of stones and metals was the next stage. At this stage it was probably the aim of the artist to make their ornaments look as near their prototypes like the flowers etc. as possible. Repetition led to conventionalisation. Then probably came the urge to break the monotony of forms and surfaces. This stage probably saw the coming of the advanced technical skills like the casting, soldering, inlaying, embossing, cutting jewells and encrusting these on metal surfaces. The last one was the crowing achievement of the jeweller. In the Indus valley precious stones were not known but all the above mentioned techniques including the encrusting of stones on metal surface were already in existence in the Indus valley. They showed originality in finding out the process of making the artificial coloured object called faience and inlaid it frequently on gold and other surfaces. The soldered conical bosses in the supposed arm-pieces show a great advancement in the art of shaping, polishing and soldering while on the 8-shaped piece we come across the technique of inlaying stones on the surface of gold. This art is not known to occur in Mesopotamia; in Egypt and Siberia it appears quite late in date. In Egypt it occurs in the pectorals of the XIIth Dynasty while the Siberian objects cannot be dated earlier than 1000 B.C. The way in which the Indus valley workers overcame the monotony of form also appear to be of their own find.

It may be pointed out that the Indus jeweller scrupulously avoided animal forms which are quite common in Egypt, among the Scythians of

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Siberia and in Persia from where it had also found its way to Greece. Sprinkle of animal form is not rare in Indian jewellery of early historic age but foreign influence appears responsible for the phenomenon.

In summing up, attention may be drawn to an interesting feature regarding the finds of the ornaments. It is the existence of highly developed technical forms side by side with ornaments of materials in which there had been no scope for showing any technical brilliance. The struggle for mastery over various complicated techniques was already in a highly advanced stage and in this respect the jeweller of India had far surpassed his neighbour in Iran and Mesopotamia. Their indebtedness to their neighbour in respect of jewellery forms and techniques was, as in case of various other arts, insignificant. Then what was the reason of the existence of ornaments embodying elaborate technical skill on the same level with the ornaments of very common type.

Its answer rests with the very character of the sites. The excavations carried out in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Siberia etc. have brought to light only one aspect of life, that of people of an economically well placed order. Whatever hail from these countries belonged either to a king or a queen or men of similar position.

The sites of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa are totally different from their neighbours in this respect. It cannot be said to whom the ornaments so far discovered from these sites belonged. But the antiquities discovered from the sites reflect rhe taste of the citizens irrespective of their economic position. That is why there are objects which were used by economically well placed people side by side with objects used by very poor people with little scope for the display of technical skill. But the care taken to finish the bracelet of terracotta compares quite favourably with the efficiency shown in finishing the elegant ear ornament or the elaborate 8-shaped brooch.

KALYAN K. GANGULI

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The Historical Background of the Works of Kālidasa

In determining the probable date of Kālidāsa there is practically complete unanimity among scholars regarding the connection of Kalidasa with one Vikramāditya. Although Sanskrit literature makes no mention of the relation of Kālidāsa with Vikramāditya in any of the numerous works dealing with Vikramāditya, yet on the authority of a verse[1] in a work called *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* attributed to Kālidāsa, which work is itself not accepted as a genuine work of Kālidāsa and has been more or less accurately assigned to the 11th century A.D., all modern scholars speak of the unquestionable tradition of India regarding the connection of Kālidāsa with Vikramāditya.

After accepting this connection, the attempt of scholars has been to fix the particular Vikramāditya in whose reign Kālidāsa could have flourished. Yaśovarman of Kanouj is too late. The majority of scholars are inclined to identify the Vikramāditya with one of the Gupta emperors. Some people try to show that this must be the Vikramāditya who founded the Vikrama Era.[2] In the name Vikramorvaśīya and in the occurrence of the word Vikrama twice in the first Act of that drama,[3] people assume that Kālidāsa was hinting at Vikramāditya. In the names of Kumāra Skanda and Candra born of ocean, found in the *Kumārasambhava* and in the *Raghuvaṃśa* there is the opinion prevailing that there are hints about Kumāragupta, Skandagupta and Candragupta son of Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty. Further, in the conquests of Raghu people see a similarity with the conquests of Samudragupta. In the Aśvamedha of Puṣyamitra mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*,[4] people see a reference to the great sacrifice performed by Samudragupta. Not only this, in the various words connected with the root *gup*, they see a hint of the Gupta dynasty

1 धन्वन्तरि-क्षपणकामरसिंह-शङ्कु-वेताल-भट्टि-घटकर्पर-कालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥

2 B.C. 56.

3 (a) दिष्ट्या महेन्द्रोपकारपर्याप्तेन विक्रममहिम्ना वर्द्धते भवान् । and (b) अनुनयैकः खलु विक्रमालङ्कारः

4 In the fifth Act. See note 33 below.

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also. The description in the *Kumārasambhava* of the ladies in the city of Oṣadhiprastha[5] when Śiva was entering the city for his marriage and the same passages appearing in the *Raghuvaṃśa*[6] when Aja was entering the city of Vidarbha for his marriage with Indumatī are taken to be imitations of passages in the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa.[7] Kālidāsa's knowledge of Greek astronomy[8] and his knowledge of the theories of Āryabhaṭa[9] are other evidences brought forward to assign for Kālidāsa a date about four centuries after the Christian era.

Without attempting to discuss any of these views which are by now well known to everyone who is acquainted with Kālidāsa research and without even giving any references to modern contributions in connection with the points mentioned above, I turn my attention to find out if there are other evidences that point out to any other date for the great poet. There is nothing that can be called a definite evidence. If there were such an evidence there would have been no controversy on the point. The matter has to be decided by inferences. What are the most acceptable data for such inferences? This is the only point at issue.

The Bharatavākya in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[10] is something unique. It mentions the name of the hero of the drama. It is only in the *Mudrārākṣasa* that we come across the name of the hero appearing in the Bharatavākya.[11] Usually it refers to the king reigning at the time when the drama was first put on the stage and that without any mention of the

5 Canto VII, verses 56-69.

6 Canto VII, verses 5-16. There are slight variations in some places.

7 Canto III, verses 13-24.

8 Use of Jāmitra in अथौषधीनामधिपस्य वृद्धौ तिथौ च जामित्रगुणान्वितायाम् which is a Greek word—*Kumārasambhava*, VII-1.

9 *Raghuvaṃśa*, Canto XIV, verse 40.

10 त्वय्मे प्रसादसुमुखी भव चण्डि नित्य-
मेतावदेव मृगये प्रतिपत्तहेतोः ।
आशास्यमीतिविगमप्रभृति प्रजानां
सम्पत्स्यते न खलु गोप्तरि नाग्निमित्रे ॥

11 वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यानुरूपं
यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिये भूतधात्री ।
म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः
स श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यश्चिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः ॥

Here king Candragupta is mentioned as reigning over the kingdom.

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name of the king.[12] Sometimes there is no reference to a king at all and in the Bharatavākya we find only a general prayer for prosperity and happiness.[13]

In *Mudrārākṣasa,* the name of the hero happens to be identical with the name of a later king, namely Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty and if we assume that the drama was written at the time of Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty, then the Bharatavākya mentions only the name of the reigning king and not of the hero. Of course the author has taken advantage of the identity of the two names and thus introduced the real name of the king instead of simply speaking of the king without mentioning his name as in many other dramas. Further Candragupta of the Maurya dynasty had no need to save the earth from the oppression of the Mlecchas, since at his time the Greeks were not able to invade India and conquer any part of it. On the other hand, he defeated the Greeks and annexed a part of the Greek empire in Persia into his own empire. In the case of Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty, the Śakas were masters of portions of the country and he had to save the country from this foreign domination. So the statement in the Bharatavākya of *Mudrārākṣasa*[14] that Candragupta saved the country from the oppression of the Mlecchas is more appropriate as a description of Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty than of the hero of the drama himself.

It is only in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* that we find the name of the hero appearing in the Bharatavākya.[15] If it is a general rule that in the

12 मृच्छकटिक :—क्षीरिण्यस्सन्तु गावो भवतु वसुमती सर्वसम्पन्नसस्या
पर्जन्यः कालवर्षी सकलजनमनोनन्दिनो वान्तु वाताः ।
मोदन्तां जन्मभाजः सततमभिमता ब्राह्मणास्सन्तु सन्तः
श्रीमन्तः पान्तु पृथ्वीं प्रशमितरिपवो धर्मनिष्ठाश्च भूपाः ॥

13 मालतीमाधव :—शिवमस्तु सर्वजगतां परहितनिरता भवन्तु भूतगणाः ।
दोषाः प्रयान्तु शान्तिं सर्वत्र सुखी भवतु लोकः ॥

नागानन्द :—वृष्टिं हृष्टशिखण्डितण्डवकृते मुञ्चन्तु कालेऽम्बुदाः
कुर्वन्तु प्रतिरूढसन्ततहरिच्छस्योत्तरीयां क्षितिम् ।
चिन्वानाः सुकृतानि वीतविपदो निर्मत्सरैर्मानसै-
र्मोदन्तां सततं च बान्धवसुहृद्वोष्ठीप्रमोदाः प्रजाः ॥

विक्रमोर्वशीय :—परस्परविरोधिन्योरेकसंश्रयदुर्लभम् ।
सङ्गतं श्रीसरस्वत्योर्भूतयेऽस्तु सदा सताम् ॥

14 म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः ।

15 The last word अग्निमित्रे

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Bharatavākya it is the reigning king that is mentioned without giving his name as in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Veṇīsaṃhāra*[16] or by actual mention of his name as in the *Mudrārākṣasa*,[17] then it is not unnatural to presume that the name Agnimitra mentioned in the Bharatavākya of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is also the name of the reigning king. Agnimitra is also the hero and since we do not know of any other king named Agnimitra who could be the contemporary and patron of Kālidāsa, the most reasonable position will be to assume that in this drama, the hero is the reigning king himself, namely, Agnimitra, in whose time and under whose patronage Kālidāsa flourished.

Apart from the mention of the hero as the reigning king in the Bharatavākya, this last verse in the drama, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, is unique in other ways. This last verse in the drama is not really a Bharatavākya; it simply says in the second half that the drama has no Bharatavākya.[18] The first half is a part of the story.[19] In all the dramas, the story ends before the last verse, called the Bharatavākya. If there are two verses in the end, the first is a part of the story and the second is outside the story.[20] Here the first half of the verse is a part of the story, being the words of the hero to his first consort. Then in the second half, the actor who took the part of the hero announces to the audience (and this is outside the story) that the usual benediction which is expected at that stage (āśāsyam) is unnecessary and hence cancelled, in so far as there is nothing to be prayed for when Agnimitra was reigning over the kingdom. Thus what we are considering is not the Bharatavākya of the drama, but rather the absence of a Bharatavākya in the drama.

The only major objection to accepting Agnimitra, the hero of the drama, as also a contemporary of Kālidāsa is that no poet could have portrayed a reigning king in such unfavourable colours. I have discussed the problem of the character of Agnimitra in the drama in a paper which will appear in the Silver Jubilee Number of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona. There I have shown that Agnimitra

16 धर्मनिष्ठाश्च भूपाः in *Mṛcchakaṭika* and अवनिमवनिपालाः पान्तु in *Veṇīsaṃhāra*.

17 पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः

18 आशास्यमीतिविगमप्रभृति प्रजानां सम्पत्स्यते न खलु गोप्तरि नाग्निमित्रे ।

19 त्वम्मे प्रसादसुमुखो भव चण्डि नित्यमेतावदेव मृगये प्रतिपद्महेतोः ।

20 This is the case in *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Nāgānanda etc.

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is the great hero of Kālidāsa and that the usual judgment about his character does scant justice to the great poet. I have also explained there that Kālidāsa had Agnimitra in mind when he described Raghu and Kumāra in his two great epics.

As we know from the drama, *Mālavikāgnimitra,* Agnimitra had his capital at Vidiśā, during the life-time of his father Puṣyamitra. There is no record to show that Vidiśā was at any other time a great imperial capital. In the Meghasandeśa Vidiśā is mentioned दिक्षु प्रथितविदिशालक्षणां राजधानीम्[21] "Vidiśā, the imperial capital famed in all the quarters." This description is more appropriate at the time of Agnimitra than at any other time. Those who have taken note of this point find it necessary to offer some explanation[22] since they cannot get away from the idea of Kālidāsa being a contemporary of Vikramāditya and from the consequent need to put Kālidāsa at about 56 B.C., i.e. about a century after the time of Agnimitra.

By the side of this description of Vidiśā as the great imperial capital, one must read the description of the city Ujjayinī in the Meghasandeśa. Though there are many verses[23] devoted to the description, there is not a mention of the palace or of the emperor. There is the mention of the river,[24] of the temple,[25] of the streets,[26] of the house,[27] of the handsome damsels[28] and of many things. It is described as everything except an imperial capital. This looks rather improbable, by the side of the description of Vidiśā, if this short poem were written by Kālidāsa under the patronage of the great Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī.

Scholars speak of the partiality of Kālidāsa for Ujjayinī in so far as he wants the cloud, though on an urgent mission, to go out of his direct route

21 Meghasandeśa, I-24.

22 *Nagpur University Journal,* vol. V, Paper on Kālidāsa by T. J. Kedar.

23 Meghasandeśa, I-30 to 38.

24 शिप्रावातः in Meghasandeśa I-31 and गन्धवत्याः in Meghasandeśa I-33.

25 महाकालमासाद्य in Meghasandeśa, I-34. This and the next two verses refer to the temple.

26 नरपतिपथे in Meghasandeśa, I-37.

27 हर्मेष्वस्याः in Meghasandeśa, I-32 and भवनवलभौ in Meghasandeśa, I-38.

28 यत्र स्त्रीणां हरति in Meghasandeśa, I-31; ललितवनितापादरागाङ्कितेषु in Meghasandeśa, I-32; तोयक्रीडानिरतयुवतिस्नानतिक्तैः in Meghasandeśa, I-33; वेश्याः in Meghansandeśa, I-35; योषितां in Meghasandeśa, I-37.

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to see Ujjayinī.[29] But few people have stopped to think why Kālidāsa took the cloud first to Vidiśā and then westward to Ujjayinī. If Kālidāsa was so partial to Ujjayinī, he could have taken the cloud straight away to Ujjayinī. That shows his very great partiality to the great imperial capital of his time, namely, Vidiśā. Kālidāsa could not think of anything else for one starting from Rāmagiri and proceeding northwards than first to go to Vidiśā; then he directs the cloud to visit Ujjayinī also. In so far as Vidiśā is the scene of one of his dramas,[30] he did not describe the city in this poem. But Ujjayinī, the city of historical importance he had to describe in detail, since that is not the scene of any other work of his.

This great partiality for Vidiśā justifies the assumption that Kālidāsa lived at a time when Vidiśā was a great imperial capital and that is only at the time when Agnimitra had his Court there.

In the *Raghuvaṃśa* we can see a clear allegorical representation of the decay in India under the later Mauryan kings, the revival of religion by Puṣyamitra and the birth of his great son who founded a new dynasty and who consolidated the empire that had broken up. One cannot miss a close resemblance between Dilīpa and Puṣyamitra. Both were religiously minded. Dilīpa, the representative of kingship in India, is informed by his Teacher that the continuity of kingship was about to be broken on account of the sins committed towards Kāmadhenu:

इप्सितं तदवज्ञानाद्विद्धि सार्गलमात्मनः ।
प्रतिबध्नाति हि श्रेयः पूज्यपूजाव्यतिक्रमः[31] ॥

"There is this obstacle to your desires on account of the want of respect shown to her: Know you thus. Indeed, departure from showing respect to those who deserve respect obstructs prosperity." Dilīpa performs penances; he is blessed with a son. The very fact that he prefaces the mention of the dynasty of Raghu with sixteen royal virtues[32] that adorned the kings, indicates that he had in mind some kings who were not what the kings of the Raghu dynasty were.

From the *Mālavikāgnimitra* we know that Puṣyamitra had performed a great sacrifice, that he entrusted his grandson, Vasumitra with the responsibility of protecting the sacrificial horse, that the Yavanas attacked the

29 वक्रः पन्था यदपि Meghasandeśa, I-37.
30 *Mālavikāgnimitra.*
31 *Raghuvaṃśa,* I-79.
32 In four verses, namely *Raghuvaṃśa,* I-5 to 8.

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horse on the banks of the Sindhu, that the boy hero defeated the Yavanas and recovered the horse and that Puṣyamitra performed the sacrifice with that horse.[33] The incidents narrated in the third Canto of the *Raghuvaṃśa* are closely similar to these historical facts. Indra steals the sacrificial horse of Dilīpa, Dilīpa sends his son Raghu who was then a mere boy, to recover the horse, Raghu fights with Indra and returns with victory.[34]

In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* it is Puṣyamitra's son who marries the sister of the king of Vidarbha. In the *Raghuvaṃśa* it is Dilīpa's grandson who marries the sister of the Vidarbha king. In the *Raghuvaṃśa* it is Dilīpa's son who recovers the sacrificial horse that was stolen while in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* it is Puṣyamitra's grandson who performs this feat. Both were mere boys and great heros. The agreement is far greater than the minor difference.

From the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, it is found that Agnimitra had conquered Vidarbha and had sway over that area. He could decide about the succession to the throne and he could practically dictate his terms to the Vidarbha king. In the *Raghuvaṃśa*, it is found that the conquests of Raghu extended upto the southern extremity of India. This may be an exaggerated description of the conquests of Agnimitra. Even the Mauryan empire did not extend to the extreme south of India.

According to Kālidāsa, Puṣyamitra was not the emperor. He is styled Senādhipati in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, though he performs the sacrifice. From the fact that even at the time of Puṣyamitra, it is Agnimitra who is styled Rājā, it may be concluded that according to Kālidāsa, Agnimitra was the first real king after the revival of religious life in India. And

33 The whole incident is mentioned in the letter of Puṣyamitra to Agnimitra which runs as follows: यज्ञशरणात् सेनापतिः पुष्यमित्रो वैदिशस्थं पुत्रमायुष्मन्तमग्निमित्रं स्नेहात् परिष्वज्यानुदर्शयति । विदितमस्तु । योऽसौ राजसूयदीक्षितेन मया राजपुत्रशतपरिवृतं गोप्तारं वसुमित्रमादिश्य संवत्सरोपावर्तनीयो निरर्गलस्तुरगो विसृष्टः स मिन्धोर्दक्षिणे रोधसि चरन्नश्वानीकेन यवनानां प्रार्थितः । तत उभयोस्सेनयोर्महानासीत् सन्दर्भः ।

ततः परान् पराजित्य वसुमित्रेण धन्विना ।
प्रसह्य ह्रियमाणो मे वाजिराजो निवर्तितः ॥

साऽहमिदानीं अंशुमतेव सगरः पौत्रेण प्रत्याहृताश्वो यज्ञे । तदिदानीमकालहीनं विगतरोषचेतसा भवता वधूजनेन सह यज्ञसेवनायागन्तव्यम् ।

34 *Raghuvaṃśa*, III-38 to 67.

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in *Raghuvaṃśa* also, the dynasty is called after Raghu and not after Dilīpa. There is some parallel between these two facts.

Raghu proceeds from Aparānta to Pārasīka by the land route,[35] and the implication is that the sea-route is also available, perhaps as a shorter route and the common route. Unless Kālidāsa wanted to give this implication there is no need to specify that Raghu proceeded by land. In Pārasīka he met the Yavanas. Although it is not specifically stated that he fought with the Yavanas in the Pārasīka country, there is the mention of Yavana women in that country.[36] In Kerala he speaks about Kerala women;[37] in the country of the Hūṇas, he speaks about the Hūṇa women.[38] Why should he speak about Yavana women in Pārasīka unless at the time of Kālidāsa, Pārasīka was a Yavana kingdom? Pārasīka was a Yavana kingdom at the time of Agnimitra. The Greek empire in Asia collapsed some time after Agnimitra.

From Pārasīka, Raghu proceeded northwards[39] and reached the Sindhu.[40] Sindhu may mean only a river or we may accept the variant Vaṅkṣu and identify it with Oxus. Anyway Raghu reached a river to the north of Pārasīka and there he met the Hūṇas. This suggests that Kālidāsa wrote the *Raghuvaṃśa* before the Huns crossed the Oxus and came to India. This is evidence for an earlier date for Kālidāsa rather than for a later date.

When the *Raghuvaṃśa* is closely studied, it is found that when Kālidāsa described Dilīpa, Raghu and Aja, he had Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra and Vasumitra in his mind. Aja, though a great hero, is of a soft nature. From the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa we find that Sumitra (perhaps a mistake for Vasumitra), son of Agnimitra, was fond of dramas.[41] The reference may be to the same Vasumitra mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

35 पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV-60.
36 यवनीमुखपद्मानाम् *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV-61.
37 भयोत्सृष्टविभूषाणां तत्र केरलयोषिताम् *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV-54.
38 तत्र हूणावरोधानाम् *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV-68.
39 ततः प्रतस्थे कौबेरीं भास्वानिव रघुर्दिशम् *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV-66.
40 सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनैः *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV-67.
41 श्वतिदयितलास्यस्य च शैलूषमध्यमध्यास्य मूर्धानमसिलतया मृणालमिवालुनादग्निमित्रात्मजस्य सुमित्रस्य मित्रदेवः *Harṣacarita*, VI Ucchvāsa.

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No conquest by an Indian king of a later day extends so far to the west as is found in the conquests of Raghu. And we know from history that the empire of Candragupta Maurya extended to Persia. If Kālidāsa lived at a time not far removed from the glorious days of the Mauryan empire, he must have heard of its extent, and in Raghu's conquests, he might have given a (perhaps exaggerated) description of how Agnimitra revived the entire glory of the Mauryan empire even in its extent. It is not the empire of Samudragupta nor of Yaśovarman that Kālidāsa could have had in mind when he described the conquests of Raghu; it is the empire of Candragupta Maurya that was his original, if at all he had some historical original for his description. He might have written the great epic to inspire the king and the nation with a sense of the lost glory of the Mauryan empire, with a desire to revive the greatness, to restore the vast empire, to reconsolidate the dismembered empire. He could not have written the poem for the pleasure of a Vikramāditya; he could have written it only to give inspiration and courage to a nation that had fallen into unhappy days after a long glorious past. The unification of India, the restoration of religion and piety into national life as a necessary preliminary to the revival of the decaying civilization and the waning power, the stirring up of a spirit of patriotism—these must have been the purpose (if a poet has a purpose at all) that moved Kālidāsa to write the epic poem.

In the *Kumārasambhava* also, one can see, if one looks carefully, the same idea that is found in the *Raghuvaṃśa;* namely, the great empire built up by Candragupta, extending far beyond the modern India, its destruction, the decay and corruption in national life, the divorce of religion and piety from the life of the people, consequent foreign domination and oppression, the nation's penance and united call through the person of king Puṣyamitra to the great God to be reunited to the country and her affairs, the final union of the Divine with the life of the country, the birth of Agnimitra, the great national hero, as the result of this union, the restoration of the country from foreign domination and oppression by this hero and the enjoyment by the country of freedom and prosperity. The political allegory of the *Kumārasambhava* will be dealt with in greater detail in another paper. Here I have simply given the general outline.

C. Kunhan Raja

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The earliest Phases of the Company's Indigo Trade

The dyeing demands of Europe and also to a certain extent of Asia, compelled the Company to take an eager interest in indigo during the earlier half of the 17th century. Even in the 16th century the English used to obtain it from the Portuguese. John Nieuhoff says, by the middle of the 17th century, "Aniel or Indigo (was) first of all transported (into Brasil) by the Portugueses from the Canary Islands". English trade in this commodity through Aleppo was also developed by this time. Attempts to grow it in England were also made.

Burma where "they use to pricke the skinne, and to put on it a kinde of anile or blacking, which doth continue alwayes", apparently demanded some indigo. Samarkhand, Kashgar and other contiguous countries, as well as India consumed indigo even in the early 17th century. Arabja and Iran also furnished attractive markets to the Company, at this time.

Dr. Balkrishna says, "India continued to enjoy the monopoly" (of supplying indigo) "till the middle of the seventeenth century". It may be however noted here that Ceylon indigo was of European commercial interest certainly earlier than 1638. One of the clauses in the Treaty concluded between the Dutch and Rājasiṃha of Siṃhala in 1638, lays down that the "service(s)" which the armed forces of the (Dutch) United Chartered East India Company were to render to "His Majesty's lands of Ceylon... shall be recouped by His Majesty in cinnamon, pepper, cardamom, indigo, wax, rice and other valuable products of his country". Maetsukyer says that it was "found growing in a wild state in the seven Corles", in 1650. "Ten ware den indigo", he says, "die in de 7 Corles in't wilt te wassen gevonden wort".

He however adds, "We, for our part, have attached little importance to the latter (indigo), the less that, although it could easily be manufactured, we should have to do it all through our own people, which would perhaps cost the Company not less than what the indigo could be procured for in other places, (...wellicht niet minder soude komen te kosten, dan den indigo op andere plaetsen ingekost wort...) so that we may reap only a small profit thereby". But there were hopes. "The samples recently sent us by the Opper koopman Adriaen Van der Meyden from

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Negombo (about twenty miles from the modern capital) are somewhat better than the earlier although they do not include a finished specimen".

According to Nieuhoff, "in the year 1642 one Gillin Venant brought some indigo-seed from the American islands into Brasil". "The Indigo" after some effort "came to its full Perfection, several Patterns of which were sent into Holland". "The wild Aniel" also grew "in Brasil in great plenty".

Baldaeus points out, "It is sowed in several Places.....about Agra; in Fettapour, 12 Cos from Agra; near the City of Byana, 30 Cos from Agra (where is the best); near the City of Bassaune, 38 Cos from Agra; near the City of Kindowen, 40 Cos from Agra". "The broad indigo" "grows about two Leagues from Amadabath, the Capital City of Gusuratte, specially in the Village of Circhees". "Among those Commodities which are transported from Masulipatam, the Indigo (is) none of the least". He adds that several varieties were available for exportation. "The Indigo Laura" or "Indigo de Bayana" is said to be the first crop "of three different sorts", "is call'd Voutby", "the second Gerry, and the third Catteel". 'The chief Signs of the goodness of the Indigo are, its Lightness and feeling dry betwixt the Fingers, its swimming upon the Water, and, if thrown upon burning Coals, its emitting a Violet-colour'd Smoke, and leaving but little Ashes behind". Among others, Elkington, (in his letter of 31st. December, 1614) similarly speaks of various kinds of indigo, and their purchase prices.

Baldaeus also says, "Hereabouts (in south India and Ceylon?) also grows the Indigo call'd Aniel de Biant by those of Gusuratte". The translator's marginal note says, though later on, "Good indigo is also made in Coromandel".

When Oxwicke and Farewell were trying to purchase indigo at Broach Aldworth advised them not to buy "that which will not swim".

Finch writes that roundabout "Cickell (Sarkhej)" "in a towne 4c. from Amadavar", "nill" was "made". This was however not "so good as that of Biana'. Another variety was "called cole, of a grosse sort". "Some three courses from Amadavar", says Withington, "is the chiefe place (Sarkhej) where they make theire flatte indico, and there wee spente twoe or three dayes in seeing the makinge thereof".[1]

1 Nieuhoff's *Remarkable Voyages and Travels to Brasil;* Bal Krishna, *Commercial Relations between India and England; Khan, The East India Trade in the XVII century;* Fitch's account in Hakluyt, Foster etc.; Finch's narrative in *Purchas,* Foster etc.; Office copy of the Dutch treaty in the Government Archives

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"Indicoe Byana" (carried by the Royal Anne to England) as distinct from indigo dust which is not priced at all in the list, cost the Old Joint Stock about 78·25 mahmudís a maund of 23½ seers, by 1619, 1882 maunds (of 24 seers) "Indico Serquese" cost 75,981 mahmudís and 15 pice, while 15 "small maunds" of the same commodity were rated at little over 645 mahmudís, lower down in the list. 12 churls of "indicoe Jambasar" (in Broach) conveyed by the Lion, was purchased at 1,132 mahmudís and 10½ pice. The prices of the Sarkhej and Biana varieties are referred to later on, (for example) in the letter to Methwold and others dated 26th. August, 1619, and samples sent from Masulipatam are praised highly. In 1621, we however find that "Jambuzar indico, in England is valued (as it is) nought and not worth the fraught whome". Jambusar and Sarkhej indigoes are distinguished in Martin's letter from Broach, of 12th October, 1621. Bickford and others again wrote from Sarkhej twelve days later that the Jambusar indigo was not to "be medeled withall, it not being worth the carriage home". The Company had forbidden its exportation to England.

Indigo was sold at this time near Ahmadabad in "squar baskets (which were) not made all of one bignesse". Another difficulty in the way of accurately indicating the weight of a bale lay in the fact that "all indicoe fills not alike".

Malynes in his *Lex Mercatoria* says that there were two sorts of indigo, "Carquez" (22d. a lb.) and "Aldcas' (18d. a lb.).

In the "*Note of Merchandise and commodities in the St. Salvador and St. John" of August, 1602*, we find "pepper, cinnamon, cloves, indigo, silks, calicoes, ginger, wax", "ambergris, pearls" etc., arriving at Lisbon. "The lading of four ships of the East India for Lisbon" (in 1603) included indigo, spices, gems, cotton goods and silk.

In 1604, the Turkey Merchants complained that the direct importation of indigo spices, silks and other commodities from the East resulted in damage to their Levant trade.

Finch who says in 1609 "that the Portingals are still the fundamental cause of all our losses", was desirous "that against the next year we might have our whole stock employed in rich indigo with some other drugs there

(Ceylon); Instructive voot D. E. Heer Jacob van Kittensteyn" etc.; Baldacus, A True and Exact Description of.....Malabar and Coromandel as also of the Isle of Ceylon" etc; O.C., (II) 223; Withington's account in *Purchas*, "A journey over Land "etc., and Foster etc.

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(at Cambaya) to be had for our shipping". "I would be glad", he adds, "to do anything for the good of our right worshipful Company". He also says that he "was sent to buy nill or indigo at Byana in November, 1610" "The country which affordeth that rich nill which takes name of Byana is not above twentie or thirtie cose long". Biana in Bharatapura lies about fifty miles away from Agra. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the town was "ruinate, save two sarayes and a long bazar, with a few stragling houses". Next year, Finch "departed from Agra for Lahor.....and carried twelve carts laden with nil in hope of a good price".

"This herbe, being cut the moneth of aforesaid, is cast into a long cisterne, where it is pressed downe with many stones, and then filled with water till it be covered; which so remaineth for certaine dayes, till the substance of the herbe be gone into the water. They let the water forth into another round cisterne, in the middest of which is another small cisterne or center; this water being thus drawne forth, they labour with great staves, like batter or white starch, and then let it settle, scumming off the cleare water on the toppe; then labouring it afresh, and let it settle againe, drawing forth the cleare waters; doing this oft, till nothing but a thicke substance remaine, which they take foorth and spread on cloth to dry in the sunne; and being a little hardened, they take it in their hands, and making small balls, lay then on the sand to dry (for any other thing would drinke up the colour); this is the cause of the sandy foot. So if raine fall, it looseth his colour and glosse, and is called Aliad".

"Some deceitfully will take of the herbs of all three crops and steepe them all together, hard to be discerned, very knavishly. Fowre things are required in nill: a pure graine, a violet colour, his glosse in the sunne, and that it be dry and light, so that swimming in the water or burning in the fire it cast forth a pure light violet vapour, leaving a few ashes".

A merchant named Ferdinando Cotton wrote to the Company in November, 1612, "The Trade hath above 1000 churls of indigo, good store of silk, some cinnamon; the Hector hath indigo, aloes, cloves, pepper". The earlier Court Minutes refer to the sale of indigo not at all infrequently. Floris bought some indigo and cotton yarn at Masulipatam in 1614, and expected to reap a profit of "six or seven for one". Surat says on 19th August of the same year that Indigo, cotton goods, sugar and green ginger were some of "the chief English commodities in Surat". The availability of indigo and cotton yarn at Masulipatam is also referred to in the same document.

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By the end of that year we find Surat regarding it (and cotton goods, yarn etc.) as "fit to be reladen for England". Edwardes writing from Ahmedabad, a little later, regards it as a very lucrative article of merchandise "more profitable than any other commodity from those parts", while Preston says on 17th December that it was found abundantly in the Ahmedabad market and was cheap in price. John Sandcrofte from that town quoted the price to the Company, and pointed out that there was enough of it "to lade three or four ships". Purchases of indigo at Ahmedabad are referred to by Aldworthe on 28th February, by Sandcrofte on 1st March, and Dodsworth on 5th November 1615. An attempt to procure it there by Browne was delayed (according to his letter of 10th February, 1618), because of want of money.

A document of 29th December 1614 refers to its availability at "Baroach", the method of purchase and of packing it for transportation abroad. Preston writes from Ahmedabad to the Company on 1st January, 1615 that there was another market of indigo at Lahore which vied with that of Ahmedabad. Hawkins refers to Nicholas Ufflet being at "Lahor with a remainder of indigo that was in William Finches power". By the middle of that year, the Hope with a cargo of indigo left for Europe.

Roe is requested to get musters from Agra in 1616. His letter to Sultan Caronne (Khurram) of the same year sums up the English case to the Mughul thus:—"Our kingdom is naturally the most fructfull in Europe and the most abundant in all sorts of armes, cloth, and what soever is necessary for mans use: besides which, your Highnes I suppose knowes not wee yeerly bring into your port in ready mony 50,000 rialls of eight, for which wee only carry away callicoes and indigoes, to the enriching of your Highness kingdomes with silver". Moreover, "for curious and rare toyes, we have better meanes to furnish Your Highnes then any other, our kingdome abounding with all arts and our shipping trading into all the world; whereby there is nothing under the sunne which wee are not able to bring, if we knew Your Highnes pleasure, what you did most affect". Writing two years later, to Kerridge at Surat, he advises against submitting to Portuguese dictation in this matter. "Yf they misenforme not from Mesolapatan, ther is great store of indico shipt at some ports to the sowth, all which take curtaasses (passes) of our enemies and pay them duties for licence as lords of the sea'. Quasi-privateering was the weapon to be used to achieve their objective. The justification for this action, probably to

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be regarded as shady, according to our twentieth century ideas, was a simple one. "If wee doe it not, the Dutch will".[2]

In the years that immediately follow, English interest in the merchandise continues unabated. In February, 1619, 278 fardles were sent from Agra to Surat through John Bangham. But next month, Surat urges Agra to buy more. It was then selling in the "aldeas" about Agra, at 24 to 25 rupees a maṇa.

On 17th March Surat wrote two letters, one to Broach referring to the buying of cardamoms and the other to Ahmadabad mentioning that all the cash in the hands of the Agra factors was spent on procuring the indigo referred to above. The prices at the time seem to have warranted a restriction of purchases at Ahmadabad.

By this time, Surat writes to the Company, "Your Agra caphila in there cominge downe weare sett uppon by theeves on the way some 22 dayes jurney hence thatt tooke from them 14 churles Byana indico and killed four or five servantes thatt attended itt." Bangham wrote from Gwalior on 25th February, 1619, "I am sorye to heare of John Younges disaster etc., yett am in good hope of better sucksess, which God graunt." The truth seems to be that Young who was in charge of the qāfila refused to pay the "custom or radaree, whereof it seems demand was made," and thereupon the toll-guard slew his escort and plundered the caravan.

We may note here that indigo at this time was usually sold by the 'churle', 'bundle' or 'fardle'. This unit was of two kinds,—one of about five *maṇas*, and the other of about four. Leachland of Ahmadabad, for example, refers to a proposed sale of indigo, at "50 rupes per fardle of four mands and 7 seares", by a broker who is said to be 'a sutelle knave'.

Another caravan from Agra of 1,600 camels was detained at Chopra about 60 miles from Burhanpur ("some thirty course on this side Brampore") shortly afterwards, at the instigation of a Portuguese jeweller named Francisco Soares, by 'that neast of rouges'. The mischief was done, according to Biddulph, "per one Condye Suffer. Armenian, who Francisco

2 Brit. Mus. Egerton Ms. 2122, f. 1, f. 124; 2123, f. 77; 2123, f. 82, f. 101. Cal. St. Papers Col. series etc. 1513-1616, 309, 327 etc.; Domestic Corresp. Jac. I, Vol. X, no. 27; OC., 10; Letters Received I; OC., 90; Ct. Bk. III; C.S.P. 737, 763, 776 etc.; OC., 213, 194a; 215, 187, 258; Eng. Factories 1618-21 etc.; OC., 600 (written on paper of Indian make); OC., (II) 221, 224; OC., (III) 289; Hawkins in *Purchas*, Foster etc.; Addl. Ms. 6115, f. 96; Foster: *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, OC., 612, etc.

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Swaryes. Portingall, lefte there at his departure for Decann, as his procurador to follow this busynes to stay the English goods". In fact, (Nicholas) Bangham and Sprage, two English factors, had defrauded the Portuguese merchant of the sale proceeds of some "cheyne ware etc."

The English petitioned Mírzá Abdul Rahím (son of Akbar's guardian, Bairám Khán) the then Khánkhánán, to obtain redress for their three grievances—arrest of the qáfila, imprisonment of Sprage and plundering of indigo. Their agent conscious of their nation's sea-power bearded the lion in his den, and after some discussion, told him that reprisals might follow. "When I saw noe hope of present release of the goods, I tould him that everye yeare our shipps did guard the Princes and merchants shipps to and from the Red Sea againe to Suratt, and therefore doubted not but wee should finde justice one waye or other." The Mughul however was too cultured to brag. He replied with dignity that he "had noe shipps now; yf met with any of his, bid us take them; yf tooke the King or Princes, must give answere to them, who would strictly require it of us." But the historian cannot but note that previous English quasi-privateerings must have made the Khánkhánán know that the threat was no idle one. We thus come across the link between English quasi-privateering and expansion of the Company's trading activities, once again. In any case, after receipt of the Prince's instructions, he "gave presente order for a full restitucion without further delay or question." The English loss in indigo was to be made good, and a "quiett and secure passage" was to be given to them through any part of the region under his government.

In October, 1623, we find the English enumerating this grievance to the Hakím of the Mughal along with other "wrongs, oppressions, losses, and hindrances sustaned by the English nation liveing under the protection and tiranous government of Sultan Ckoron and his officers". The entry runs thus:—"For 14 churles of Biana indigo taken away by force in anno 1618 out of the Agra caphilo brought downe by John Young in the gagere of Shanawes Chon which at mns. 4½ of 30 pice weight the seare per churle is mns. 63; the same at rup. 35 per maun is rup. 2,205 which at M. 2¼ per peece amounts to the some of M. 4, 961.8".

In addition to prejudicial interferences by Mughul officers there were also the vagaries of the weather to be contended with by the English trader in indigo. Owing to "such unaccustomed raynes (which) hath drowned the greatest parte of new indicoe in the countryes", it was perceived by the

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middle of 1621 that its price would go up. About two weeks later, Agra wrote, "By report this hundred yeares there hath not bin such extremitie of raynes, insoe much that most parte of the new indicoe drowned and the old much improoved."

But by November, Surat managed to make "200 bales Biana indico and 9,000 maunes Serques", "ready for imbaling" in ships proceeding to England. In 1622, indigo was very dear. As it formed the principal commodity to be purchased at Agra, even the dissolution of the factory there, it is pointed out, might be recommended, on account of the high price. A rumour that the English wanted to make large purchases of indigo made its price soar up higher. Halstead and others at Ahmadabad however expected on 12th September, to be able to buy more than 100 fardles. But about a week later, Halstead died, and the "Cutwall.....seased up all our moneys, goods, and clothes, beginninge with the deceased, and soe proceeded with us all, nott leavinge one ragge to shift us, not bedd or coate to lye on". He also "choptt (i.e. put the official chāpa on) all our bookes of accompts, wrytinge and chambers, and taken possession of all". Probably the Englishmen offered some resistance, because the police officers are also said to have "disgracefully beate us and would have carryed us bound to the bassar (market place) and there inflickted further punnishmentt uppon us, but by meanes of a brybe wee stopptt there furey". The English had just bought an "additional" 136 fardles of indigo. Here is therefore another example of the kind of interference by Indian authorities which served as a deterrent to the Company's (indigo) trade. On 10th December, Surat says that "the London, Jonas and Lyon now richlye laden with clothing, silke and indicoe, with above 8,000 mauns of pepper.....shott into hould amongst the churlges (of indigo) and now about the 15th or 20th present... shall with Gods permition sett sayle togeather for" Europe. Early next year, Surat was informed by Ahmadabad of the purchase of 8,000 maṇas of indigo, 7,000 at Sarkhej, and the rest at Ahmadabad.

Heynes and Parker again report from Ahmadabad a few days later that they were sending 671 packages of indigo and cotton goods after having finished their Dholka purchases. The indigo sent, weighed 4,784 maṇas. Almost an equal quantity was to follow. But 35,500 rupees more were to be sent them to meet their obligations 'Mamoottc Tuckey' was urging them to buy Dholka (indigo) of which the Dutch were reported to have purchased 300 units. But Surat vetoed the idea and Mahmúd Taqí

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was naturally sad over it. He was the Díwán of Ahmadabad, and an adherent of Sháh Jahán. He probably found means to get the local English agents on his side. But in their instructions dated 25th March, Surat remained firm, and declined to buy from him. On 3rd April, we are told, Taqí got his indigo down to Ahmadabad, and the merchants selling indigo were forbidden not to sell any, till Taqí has succeeded in disposing of his. Negotiations were however at last opened with Taqí. He wanted cash down, at the rate of Rs. 40/- a bale for his 371 packages. The new and coarse indigo could be bought at that time for Rs. 7½ to 8 per maṇa. "Above 100 bales of indicoe (which was) to winter with (some) silke at Mocho" were made ready by Surat, early in 1623, for shipment to England. We also find Offley at Broach reporting to Rastell on 22nd October, 1623 that all the indigo was sent that very day. Leachland writing to Surat by the end of that year says that he contracted for about 1,200 churles, and was negotiating for 2,500 more. Some indigo was also bought at Cambay by the same time. Between 1624 and 1629 the dyeing industries of Europe went on consuming indigo eagerly, and English merchants showed themselves keen to purchase Biana in preference to Sarkhej. It was ordered from home that 33% of the Company's imports must be Biana. On 15th November, 1624, Swally however asked the Company to reconsider its decision pointing out that Biana cost a third more.

Again on 4th February, 1625, they point out that (flat) Sarkhej was available at Rs. 12/- a maṇa, while (round) Biana was 27 to 32 rupees 'that maund'. The difference in the English prices of the two commodities were not in ratio to their Asiatic costs. They bought some Sarkhej, but could not buy any Biana for want of funds.

By the end of 1627, the Dutch are said to be purchasing indigo "without feare or witt", and pushing up prices. In three weeks' time, the English at Agra had however succeeded in procuring inspite of Dutch opposition about 200 units at 32·5 to 35 rupees, a maṇa. There was some more available, but neither of the European nations had any cash to buy it with. The Asiatic refused credit to both. By March, Sarkhej (new) was available at 12·75 to 14·25 Rs. a maṇa.

Sarkhej continues to be bought (for example, by Boothby) by 1630. The Dutch by their huge purchases put the price up, thus inconveniencing the English factors. 'Synda soliciteth us to settle a factory there', wrote

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Wylde in 1629, "which we meane to attempt, having sent thither a broker to bring us musters of all comoditys there". The same record also mentions that a supply of cinnamon had already been sent to Europe, that the Agra indigo was 300% dearer than Sarkhej, and that indigo was purchased at Ajmira. In pursuance of the plan to settle the new factory "we sent" "our broker to Sindee" He "is at last againe returned after much trouble and danger uppon the way, having been detained upward of 8 months, by reason of warrs and differenceis betweene the Rajaes through whose country hee was to passe". Again, we come across an instance of a local war deterring the growth of indigo trade. Out of his samples, "two bales of indicoe with sundry musters of white cloth, we send you uppon (some) ships; if they shall be found useful in England and beneficiall to recompence the expence and charge of settling a factory in that place, your worships may determine, and we shall endeavour its performance". But Rastell's letter of 6th October (1630) points out that there occurred another of those famines which interfered with growth of indigo. He (and his Council) consequently refrained from instructing Ahmadabad to buy. On the last day of that year Surat wrote, "Many buyers, as well Dutch as Persians, Armenians, etc. having furnished themselves with the choycest ware (of the passed yeares growth) at excessive high rates, there" remained little room for making profitable purchases. Even indigo of very poor quality could not be purchased at less than 18 Rs. a maṇa. In the country "about Amadabad..... this yeares whole cropp on the ground is not likely to produce above two or three hundred fardles, which in former tymes hath not been soe little as 4 or 5,000". The Company had asked Surat to buy more 'indicoe' and less 'callicoe'. But these instructions could not under these circumstances be possibly obeyed. They promised however ship some Biana.

The S'Gravenhage (Dutch) was carying 886 churls of indigo and her consort 800 churls, of the same in 1632. By the end of that year, Cirqueze and Amadabad went up in price, till the same level as that of Agra and Biana was reached.

A record from Agra, dated 12th November 1633 estimates that the annual indigo output of the region round Agra came to 15,000 maṇas Of this 33% was Biana. The indigo made at "Coaria, Coule" and "Jellaly" (of Aligaḍ tahsil?) was not so good.

The emperor had farmed the whole produce to Manoharadāsa Daṇḍa. The transliteration of the name as given by Foster is wrong.

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It is said that Mír Muhammad Amin (Mír Jumla) had pulled wires from behind the scene. He "did not onely cherish but hatch it (the plan of granting a monopoly) for his owne advantage, because (one year) he had sent for his owne accompt 1,200 fs. of indico into Persia overland".

The English therefore thought of allying with the Dutch and refusing to buy any of the dyeing stuff, so that the Indian Government might be induced to reconsider its decision. A draft agreement was actually drawn up and discussed, on 15th November, 1633, while a scale of prices at which both nations were prepared to buy, was formulated. It was proposed to the Dutch that 42 rupees were to be paid for every Akbari maṇa of old, and 38 for that of new Biana, while a Surat maṇa of Sarkhej was not to be bought at any price exceeding eighteen rupees. The Dutch agreed.

The alternative suggestion that the English themselves should undertake to farm the supply was however considered to be undesirable for more than one reason.

The 'solemne contract consisting of 13 distinct articles' was however, the English complained, evaded in practice by the Dutch. At an excessive price their chief at Agra bought a large quantity from the Hindu merchant, just before the conclusion of the Anglo-Dutch agreement. 'After all this projecting', says the disappointed President Methwold on 2nd January, 1634, "these designes are now crossed by the proceedings of the Dutch, who came this day and with some shew of sorrow presented to this Councell their principal factors letter from Agra, advertizing that he hath (as it seemes upon some former orders sent him long before the knowledge of any treaty) bought a percell of 1,500 fardles, amounting to 6,000 maen of Byana indicoe at 61 rupees the maen".

Captain Richard Allnutt reports that brokers told him that the perfidious Dutch had even declared their readiness to purchase all the indigo at a fixed rate, provided the English were not allowed to procure any. This promise (according to his version) induced the Indian Government to establish a monopoly.

The impartial historian must however point out in the same breath that according to the Governor of Surat "Mr. Hopkinson (had) made an overtune unto him of a contract for indicoe, in imitation of the contracts in Persia", 'Mezer Mulck' (Mír Músá Muizz-ul-Mulk, the Governor was induced by this suggestion to become "the first projectour of this business (granting of a monopoly) unto the king."

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It must also be remembered that according to the version of the English themselves, the Dutch 'punctually observed' the indigo contract "after it was knowne. The mishapp fell out but few daies before; and if it had not so falne out, wee had bene undoubtedly free of this incombrance before this tyme."

Fremlen at Agra however foolishly contracted to purchase a considerable quantity from the Dutch, much to the annoyance of Surat which was preparing itself to smile in its sleeves at the locking up of a large Dutch capital by the highly priced indigo. "Mr. Fremlen much against ther (of the Indian broker) advise," says Methwold, "had most improvidently bought 3,000 (2,000) md. Ecobaer of Byana indicoe at 64 rups. per md."[3]

There was perhaps some consolation to the English in India in the thought that the hated Dutch were not themselves doing too well in the indigo business. 'The Dutch Generall and Councsell' had written that they had been able to sell their Sarkhej for 40 'styvers', and their Biana only at an actually lower than Sarkhij rate—35 'styvers'.

But English trade, it could not be denied, was hit very hard, indeed. "Agra hath proved like that curst cowe.....which hath given a good soope of milck and kickt it downe with her heele." Moreover, the indigo in one of their caravans was drenched with rain between Viara and Bardoli by this time. The Company's factors could not possibly (they pointed out in desperation) "strugle with monopolists that are backt from the treasury of one of the richest monarchs in the world." But they could not at the same time fail to appreciate their employers' standpoint that indigo was "the prime or principall commodity of all others." Prospects of obtaining cheap supplies were however remote. "The little which you will receive now," they add, "you will receive too much." 543 bales Biana had to be purchased at 61 rupees a maṇa, and in consequence, all the cash in hand was spent, and more had to be borrowed. The silver lining was however appearing. "Mezer Mulck" "subtilly forseeing the ruyne of our trade, which in the deadness of these tymes depending wholy upon indicoe and, that shut up from us under these hard conditions, wee could not continue long here, from whence must needs ensue the ruyne also of his port at least,

3 F.R. Mis. XXIV; B.M.E. Ms. 2122, f. 64, f. 1, f. 138, f. 66; O.C., 831; B.M.E. Ms. 2123. ff. 54, 70, 134, 141, 143, 142; F.R. Java, III, pt. i; F.R. Mis. I; O.C., 1169, 1180, 1291; Surat Factory outward letter book I; O.C., 1335, 1442; F.R. Sur. I; cii; Hague Transcripts I, IX, nos. 305, 306 and 313; O.C., 1543A, 1518, 1519.

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if no worse events," approached the Imperial Government "for a totall inlargement or some such relaxation at least as might concerne us or the Dutch nation." A compromise suggested by the Central Government was however unacceptable to the English. They again say in this letter that indigo was "the sole merchandize now remayning in these his (the Mughul's) dominions which wee could returne for our country, or that otherwise we might have leave to depart from hence, in prosecution of some more profitable designe."

To get out of the difficulty, negotiations were continued both with the Mughul and the Dutch, and neither of these parties, the English affirm, were easy to tackle. "The king is so basely covetuous," they say, "that all appearanc's of profitt hoodwinkes him so much that he cannot see those inconveniences which goe hand in hand therewith." "They have no power," alleged the Dutch in their turn, "to consent unto such an obligation" (the renewal of the contract which had meanwhile expired). "If they (the Dutch) can perjudice us by any act of intervention, we know their affeccions and can guess at what they would willingly loose to weary us totally out of the whole trade."

That the Mughul was perturbed at the possible prospect of the English relinquishing Surat at that time is apparent from many records. In a letter from the Mughul Governor of Surat (for example) the English were told that he believed that their "discontent in respect of the monopoly of indico" might prove to be the "greatest motive" in leaving Surat. The English President had gone away from Surat temporarily, because of his engagements at Goa. The Mughul officer took it to be a permanent relinquishment, and according to the English records, entreated the President and others to come back.

On 14th April, 1635, Surat at last definitely received the welcome information that the Mughul had thought fit to terminate the grant of a monopoly in indigo. "The 14th of April, wee received the Kings firmaen, which assured us of the dissolution of the monopoly; but withall wee heard of no lower price than 50 or 48 rup. per maen." But to thwart Dutch plans a quantity was bought by the English at Ahmadabad. "Wee had nor then nor since," says Surat, "any warrant to invest much mony in that comodity; yet somewhat wee did en order that might interrupt their proceedings; and by an appearance of buying more, wee put them upon the worst parcell of indigo that ever was made in Amadabad." The mutual competition

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had of course a good deal to do with the then current high prices. But when Bālacanda impeded the English dealings in indigo, the two European nations drew together, and formed an agreement which prevented Asiatics from sending their indigo to Persia in Dutch or English vessels.

By the beginning of 1636, the English hope of making a profit to the exclusion of the Dutch through 'Tatha, alius Sinda' was rising. "Above all conveniences, transportation from Agra thither, soe much better cheape, will bee a happie opportunity to weary, if not to weare out, the (Dutch) from giveing those excessive prices for Agra indico, when wee shall in meere carriadge save 5 rup. per maen of that place". Then their broker Dhanaji, (according to Methwold's letter of April) bought indigo in Agra, at prices ranging between 45 and 56 rupees. "Hee.....sauced the Hollanders" who were compelled to offer higher rates. But the action was unwise from the commercial point of view.

In September, (1636) Ahmadabad says, "Of this years indico 7,000 maunds is computated to bee of the finer sort that swims; and the rest bannawe or coorse indico." This 'bannawe' or 'bunnah' may have something to do with bana (=jungle).

The Biana is still the prized variety, in 1638, and its dyeing capacity is about 50% superior to that of the cheap kind. The same year, the Company wants 600 churls (at about 14l. a churl) to be sent by the Discovery. Robinson's letter of 26th December, tells us that indigo was abundant that year, and that the superior grade was even less than 20 rupees a maṇa. But Fremlen expected to supply the Company with 2,000 maṇas of Biana at 45 rupees (inclusive of transportation charges to Surat) etc. by the end of 1639. It became 70% dearer than Sarkhej.

Surat writes on 28th January 1640 that finding the prices likely to go up the English eager to steal a march over the Dutch bought from "Devegee Saw a wealthy Banian merchant," 661 bales "of the best sort, swiming indico" and 340 of an inferior kind which "doth not swimme, but burnes well, and is a sort that in these latter years hath bine fraequently sent you and not much disliked by you". The rates were cheap enough. 22·25 rs. (a maṇa) for the better, and 16·25 for the inferior variety.

An enclosure to a Basra letter of the same year says, "Every fardle contains 117 vaqueas, which.....is 3 munds, 23 seare, 6½ pice.....for which at present is offered but 56 ryalls. We meane Cirques indico; that of Agra at present is worth but 125 ryalls for the above specified fardle."

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It was hoped by the very end of that year (1640) to send the expedition to Iran with a lading of indigo, sugar and cotton goods. The Swan and the Mary carried a supply to Europe, and 540 more bales could not be sent because no ship was available. The factors expected to sell these either in the Iranian or the Basra market. The 'Scinda' indigo laded on the Swan was thought to be better than the Sarkhej, though worse than the Biana. The opening up of a commerce with "Synda" in indigo, calicoes etc. is welcomed by the General Court, convened at Merchant Taylors' Hall, on 12th March, 1640, specially because of the probability that the Portuguese would keep the Dutch away from trading there.

457 bales of the best kind were sent by the Crispiana. The factors wanted to obtain 200 bales more of new Biana, but the rains damped their hopes. The English and the Dutch combined against the Indian seller, but could not force him to come to anything lower than '40 rupees that maund.' The Company was however selling Biana at 11s. (a pound) in 1640, and "7s. 6d. per pound, at three six months tyme" in 1641.

In 1643, Ahmadabad 'makers' began "to frame indico of the green leaf, as in Agra, and so it becomes very pure and good; yet the price thereof is pitcht so high that we are resolved not yet to buy more than 100 fs. of that making." George Tash at Ahmadabad was however requested to buy about 500 bales of "the last years round indico," a much cheaper commodity than what was produced from the green leaf.

The Company solid in its adamantine conservatism refused to admit any new fangled methods in the indigo business. In their letter of 27th November, 1643, to Surat, they point out that a "new face or fabrique" was being given to Sarkhej. This was not to be tolerated by any means. The Dutch had passed off Sarkhej as Lahore, and there were complaints. "Wee therefore desire that old customes may be kept and the commodity appeare in its wonted forme." While arranging exports from Surat, indigo was to be a prime concern. But it was to be seen to that the merchandise was of good quality.

The European market was exceedingly weak in 1643. But early in 1644, 'Indicoe Agry' was procured by Surat at 33 rupees a maund and less. The satisfactory price led them to order a thousand bales of the Agra variety and two hundred Sehwan. The demand for Sehwan had however fallen off in 'Persia, Mocho yett Bussora alsoe,' and consequently the planters "doe annually more or lesse reduce the wonted quantities made

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by them." It might not be possible for the Company's servants to procure it at all.

By the end of that year Swally says that want of rain and other causes (including heavy taxation) would decrease the supply at Agra for the coming year. Little Schwan indigo also could be procured by Spiller. "The people are so exceedingly opprest (in those upper countries of Schwan or Seuestan and the adjacent places), and kept so miserably poor that notwithstanding the soil is fertile and propper and would produce large quantities of good indicoes, they have neither will nor means to manure and sow the ground; so that the small quantity the country produced, not exceeding 400 maunds double (which is scarcely sufficient for the expence of those parts), rendered the commodity very dear, far beyond 40 rupees, the price we had limited. Yet were there no other buyers than the Tuttha dyers which paid 41½ rupees, besides 3 rupees per maund other charges." In 1646, the price declined to 4s. per lb. of Lahore and 3s. 4d. per lb. of Sarkhej. Next year the supply price rose. No Agra could be had at less than 43.

By the beginning of October, 1647, Ahmadabad complained that "rury" (flat as opposed to round) indigo as well as other varieties became scarce. "Before we have finished 250 (units) of the rury wee assure ourselves," they added, "wee shall not leave 100 maunds of that might be worth our owneing unbought."

It was probably in a way fortunate that the market in Europe by this time became overstocked, and indigo was "in meane esteeme." The supplies from the East had to be duly restricted. But inspite of all difficulties, the instructions of the Second General Voyage to borrow money for purchasing goods for Europe were forestalled, and Breton bought 300 bales of Agra at 40·75 to 43·75, (rs.) "the maund Eckbar," and asked the local factors to procure 100 bales more. If it was not available at Agra, the Ahmadabad and Surat markets were to be tried. "Of Ahmad. rownd indico wee are (however) very uncertaine whither any that is good, fitt for your occasions, wilbe procured." Indigo also is not be sent to Basra, because the market there is "dull and dead."

This falling off of demand both in Europe and Asia together with the high prices in India naturally decreased the volume of business. The factors in India became despondent, and Breton hoped (by the beginning of 1649) that conditions would improve, because these 'wholly depend upon

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the goodness of the commodity,' and that the supplies sent by the Eagle and those being sent at the time of writing would prove satisfactory.

In 1643 the Court records a sale of sixty barrels of flat at 4s. 6d. on sight. By July, 1646, Lahore was sold to Richard Midleton at 4s. 4d. On 14th October the Court authorised the Governor to sell thirty barrels at nothing less than 4s. 6d. (per lb.).

We have already perceived that references are found in the documents of the period to the indigo obtained from the Coast, in which some imported from Ceylon might conceivably have lurked. To take a few more examples. On 7th October, 1642, the Court refers to Wednesday afternoon being set apart for selling silk, pepper, and indigo both Sarkhej and Coromandel. The same document which records this, refers to sale of rice, cinnamon, cardamom seed, sugar and pepper.

As Garway and Saynthill were 'restrayned of their liberty,' they petitioned the Court to put their Coromandel indigo in its care. The Court refused their request on 2nd November of the same year.

In the General Court of Sales (of 1st March, 1643) the dust of Coromandel and Lahore indigo is referred to.

William Cary an employee in the William was accused of substituting an inferior quality of Coromandel indigo which would not fetch even 1s. 8d. a lb. for better indigo, in the Company's warehouse. By April, 1644, the Company threatened Cary with dismissal if the charge was proved against him. On 8th September, 1644 Ivy, Greenhill and Travell from Fort St. George informed the Company that they had sent some indigo by the Swan. They had procured it locally at 24 pagodas a candy.

Next year Coromandel as well as 'flat' are on a list of the General Court of Sales. The same year, we find some 'Coromande' being imported into England by Francis Day on his own account. In 1646, Messrs. Martin and Gould promised to get the opinion of their dyers on the efficacy of Coromandel. Towards the close of that year flat Coromandel was bought by John Brett at 1s. 6d. at six months' sight.

Again in January, 1647, flat indigo of the Coast was sold by the Company along with other merchandise.

Shortly afterwards, the Company was offerred some Coromandel indigo by James Martin. They however decided not to buy it, because of its extremely poor quality. Five days later, it is recorded that a quantity of Coromandel was sold to Penning Alston from the Company's own stock.

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Dust of this indigo, cardamoms, rice, Malabar pepper, calicoes etc. was sold again on 3rd September.

In another Swally letter of 31st January, 1649, "the despicable rates (indigo) bears in England," and the consequent small purchases in India are again referred to. Absence of rain, it points out, raised the price, and depreciated the quality of the available indigo. By the end of that year Lahore was sold to Brett at 5s. 3d. and Sarkhej at 4s. 3d. at six months sight. Regarding the weights and measures used in purchasing indigo at that time, Breton says "20 pice, by which indico is constantly bought, (make) a seare, whereof the fardle of Agra ought to contain 6 maunds 6 seare nett of 40 seare to the maund." Ahmadabad indigo was sold in the East by other standards. "Of this indico, the fardle of rownd ought to weigh six and the flat 4 maunds exactly, of the prementioned maund of 40 seare, it haveing bin soe reduced in time of the Princes government in Ahmada." By the beginning of next year, President Merry observes that the price in England was still abnormally low, while the Agra price was not cheaper than 40 rupees a mana, though the quality had fallen off. On 13th February, the Company asked Surat to despatch a further supply of indigo, calicoes, saltpetre etc. by the Aleppo Merchant and the Love.

By the end of October, Merry notices that "this yeare there hath very little rayne fallen in all parts of India, and since the middle of July little or none". Hence the prospects of a good supply of indigo were not at all hopeful. Not even a twentieth of the previous year's produce was expected. In January, 1651, Merry says that the Company however did not want a large supply. By the middle of October 1651, the market was so bad, that it was decided that seventy-seven barrels of Sarkhej and Sinda and sixty of Lahore should be sold by the candle, Sarkhej at 3s. 8d., and Lahore at 4s. 6d. Ten barrels of each kind were to make a lot. But it was hoped that the depression would lift, because it seemed 'likely wee may have peace with the Portugalls'. An offer of 4s. was however refused for some indigo on 13th November though one of 4s. 6d. was accepted on the 19th.

Though the crop was plentiful in 1656, and on one occasion, the factors "did not in the leest doubt of supplying you (the Company) with 100 fardles of extraordinary good Surquiz indico", supply was difficult, because the Indian authorities were displeased with the English. The Three Brothers however succeeded in taking a lading of piece-goods, indigo

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etc. on 22nd November of that year. A lading of pepper was to be sent by the Mayflower.

The President in 1658 refers to a purchase of new indigo. Next year indigo (though only of the superior variety) was to receive a place among the 1,000 tons of various exports inlcuding cotton goods, cotton yarn, cardamons, coffee and pepper.

In 1659, the English price for Lahore was 3s. 10d. to 4s. 1d., and Sarkhej 2s. to 2s. 1d. A letter from the Company which was received by Surat in 1660/1661 says that heavy stocks of indigo had accumulated in England, because of "the large quantities...which the former yeare came from you.....and that addition which on (some other) ships is now returned" and the price had fallen "so low...that it is not worth the bringing home; the Agra by your invoice being rated at about 26d. per lb, and the Amadabad at about 12½d. The Agra will not yield here above 3s. and 2d. per pound, and the Amadabad not above 20d. per pound." The student who would like to work out the Company's profits on these data, will have to take into account the charges for 'freight, custome' etc. which rendered the ultimate 'cost price' a heavy one. "Wee, now being glutted with that commodity, doe require that you buy none, unlesse you can have it delivered you at the Mareene, the Agra at 16d. and the Cirqueaze at 8d. per lb."

Sales of Lahore and Sarkhej indigo in Europe are however referred to in a good few records of 1660 and 1661. The list of the General Court of Sales of 1st August, 1660 includes Sarkhej indigo-shirts, pepper, cardamoms coho (coffee) seed and indigo. The coffee was disposed of a 7l. 11s. a cwt. That of 10th October, mentions among other commodities, indigo, ginger, pepper, sugar, cinnamon, coffeeberries, redwood, indigoshirts, and cardamoms. Bludworth and Spencer became security for Lahore in 1661. On 20th March of the same year, a sale of indigo, coffee, berries, indigo-shirts and Malabar pepper is recorded.[4]

J. C. De

4 O.C., 1543A; 1543B, 1552; B.M.E.M. 2086, f. 120, I, 118; O.C., 1558; Letter Bks. I; O.C., 1655, 1720, 1725, 1758, 1740, 1764; Ct. Bk. XVII; O.C., 1808; F.R. Mis. XII; O.C., 1858, 1885, 1901, 2031, F.R. Sur. ciii, ciiA; O.C., 2026; (Duplicates) 2147, 2078; O.C., 2114; Ct. Bk. XVIII to XX, XXIII; O.C., 2179, 2204, 2216, 2228, 2359; C.M. and E.F. volumes; Ct. Bk. XXIV etc.

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MISCELANY

Where was Serajuddowla captured ?

The *Tirtha-mangala*[1] contains the following lines:—

সেইদিন সকরিগলি মোকাম হইল।
প্রভাতে উঠিয়া মাজী নৌকা বাহি দিল ॥ ২১৬
গঙ্গাপ্রসাদ তেল্যাগাড়ি বামেতে থাকিল।
বায়ুবেগে নৌকাগণ চলিতে লাগিল ॥ ২১৭
যথা হৈতে নবাবেরে ধর‍্যা লয়্যা ছিল।
সেই ফকিরের বাটী বামেতে থাকিল ॥ ২১৮

"We halted at Sakrigali for that day. Rising next morning the 'manjhi' set the boat to motion. With the speed of the wind all the boats moved leaving Gangaprasad, Teliagarhi and the house of the Fakir on the left wherefrom was the Nawab captured."

The Nawab, referred to in the above passage, is Serajuddowla. Tradition goes that Seraj was handed over to the English by his host Dansah Fakir who had once been maltreated by him. The above passage confirms the tradition to the extent that Seraj was taken captive from a Fakir's house. If we travel on a boat up the Ganges from Rajmahal towards Bhagalpur we will have to sail past Sakrigali, Gangaprasad and Teliagarhi even to this day. Sakrigali has a railway station in Sahibganj Loop, E.I. Ry. and stands on the bank of the Ganges. Teliagarhi is well-known.[2] There is still a place called Gangaprasad in between Teliagarhi and Sahibganj. According to the account of the book the travellers then passed by the villages Lakshmipur, Srampur etc. before they reached the famous Patharghata which the historians identify with the Vikramaśilā university. So we can safely conclude that Nawab Serajuddowla was taken captive from a place somewhere between Teliagarhi and Lakshmipur.

This text, as the author himself tells us in lines 1123, was completed in the month of Bhadra of the Bengali year 1177 = 1769-1770 A.D. i.e. within fourteen years after the battle of Plassey. So we can take the statement as almost contemporary and more reliable than those of *Riaz-us-salatin*

1 Sahitya Parishad Publication no. 47.

2 *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, pp. 786-98. Also *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1940, 105-117.

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or *Mutaqherin*. The information found herein regarding the place of Seraj's capture is merely a casual reference made by the author. Hence it may be regarded as genuine information gathered at the very place of occurrence at a time when the memory was green. The book records the travel by boats by Maharaja Krishna Chandra Ghoshal whom the poet accompanied. Sri Kandarpa Ghoshal and Gokul Ghoshal, father and brother of the Maharaja, had great influence in the court of the English. The Ghoshal family helped them in their gradual stabilisation of power. The travel of Maharaja Krishna Chandra Ghoshal, which is the subject-matter of the book *Tirtha-mangala*, had some political character. The poet says:—

এক কাজে তিন কাজ,
করহ নৌকার সাজ—১২

i.e. "arrange the boats. This travel will serve three purposes at a time." Of the three purposes one was to come into closer contact with the influential men of different places of Bengal, Bihar and U.P. and thus to create opinions in favour of the English. So, if we take the historical aspect of the travel we can trust the statements as reliable.

So long the accepted views of the historians have been that Seraj was captured at or somewhere near Rajmahal. Orme writes that Seraj went upto Rajmahal and there he was captured. It happened on the banks of the Kalindi, opines the *Riaz*. Late Akshay Maitreya, the celebrated author of *Serajuddowla* (in Bengali), argues on the line and thinks that the Nawab sailed over the Mahananda and the Kalindi. According to Stewart it happened on his arrival opposite Rajmahal. Seraj was captured somewhere near Rajmahal, says the author of *Twarikh-i-mansuri*. The expression 'somewhere near' is too vague. A discussion of the probable route traversed by the Nawab may unfold the truth. The vanquished Nawab saw no hopes of recovery at Murshidabad and then thought of Mons. Law, the only ray of hope in the dark horizon. With the declaration of war he had sent a letter to Mons. Law (who, according to previous arrangement, was asked to wait with his party at Bhagalpur for such emergencies) to come to his assistance with the utmost expedition. According to *Mutaqherin* there was some delay on the part of Raja Ramnarain, the governor of Patna and a faithful ally of the Nawab, in sanctioning monetary help and as a result Mons. Law could not start in time. Meanwhile the Nawab proceeded towards Bihar to meet Law for help. His route lay over Rajmahal, be it by

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land or the Ganges. But Rajmahal was his danger zone because the place was under Mir Daud, a brother and ally of Mir Jafar. So, for his safe bid for Bihar and Mons. Law, Seraj had to secure a quick passage over Rajmahal. Mir Daud and Mir Quasim had been behind Seraj and they had just begun to pursue him by the order of the new Nawab, Mir Jafar. Some, as we have seen, are of opinion that Seraj tried to proceed to Bihar *via* the Mahananda and the Kalindi i.e. by river routes other than the Ganges. This reads strange as it amounts to giving the enemy sufficient time to reach and guard Rajmahal and the news of his defeat and retreat to spread. The route they suggest could in no way carry Seraj beyond Rajmahal. The Nawab would on the other hand suffer by missing Mons. Law whom he expected on the way. So it was more natural for Seraj to take the shorter and quicker route to Bihar up the Ganges than the round-about one to no purpose.

Seraj managed to pass over Rajmahal, Sakrigali, Gangaprasad and Teliagarhi while Mir Daud was chasing him. But, as ill luck would have it, he could not go further. Perhaps he thought himself safe having passed the danger zone of Rajmahal and halted for a short repast at a Fakir's abode on the bank of the Ganges. The Fakir however betrayed him. The Fakir's abode, which the *Tirtha-mangala* identifies with the place of the capture of Seraj, must be the ruined one now seen on a small hillock called Khotnasi between the railway stations of Mirzachowki and Pirpointy or the one at Pirpointy lying on the bank of the Ganges. I would like to point out that this place is not far from Rajmahal and is midway between Rajmahal and Bhagalpur, where Mons. Law was asked to wait on the eve of the Nawab's quarrel with the English and which was within three hours' journey by boat.

SARIT SEKHAR MAJUMDAR

Designation of Hell in the Rgveda and the Meaning of the word 'Asat'

In a recent article,[1] Prof. Norman Brown of the University of Pennsylvania attempts to point out what the definite name was by means of which the Vedic people designated the place of punishment for the wicked after death. It is suggested that *Asat* was the name by which this place

1 Norman Brown, "The Rigvedic Equivalent for Hell," *JAOS.*, (June 1941) vol. LXI, pp. 76—80.

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was called, and that it was meant not for the ordinary sinner whose punishment ended with being bound by Varuṇa's fetters or with incurring the displeasure of the gods, but for those actively anti-divine creatures like the *Rākṣasas*, the *Yātudhānas* or the *Kimīdins* who conspire against the sacrifice, injure the pious and defraud them of the fruit of their good deeds. We are asked to believe that the ordered universe is contrasted in the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* with the place of hell, and the difference between the two is similar to that between *Aditi* and *Nirṛti*, between life and death, between the created, ordered and lighted world and the uncreated, unordered and unillumined place of dissolution; the latter is called *Asat* as contrasted with the former which goes by the name of *Sat*. The gods fashioned the orderly universe from the primordial chaos which is no other than *Asat*, the disordered world of demons. The famous *Nāsadīya* hymn (*ṚV*., X. 129) has to be construed in this light, and the Vedic story of the fight beween *Indra* and *Vṛtra* is no more than an allegorical explanation of the process of the creation of this world. It is true that *Asat* which thus means *hell* in the *Ṛgveda* does not mean so later on. The reason for this is that, in the conception of *Asat* and *Sat*, the philosophers found a dualism which they "resolved into a monism that comprised the undifferentiated primordial chaos". Often this was left unnamed, but when this was named it was called *Asat* or Skambha or Brahman. "This last term finally prevailed, and as it prevailed it signified an idea vastly different from that of the dreaded Ṛgvedic *Asat*. Thinkers, having reflected upon hell, passed beyond it, and in passing beyond it turned their back upon heaven as well, to find their goal at last in the infinite Brahman which transcends both, whether the good or the evil."

Now, the word *Asat* occurs 60 times[2] in all in the *Ṛgveda* in its different forms, and it is a fact worthy of note that neither orthodox tradition nor western interpretation has ever given the word hitherto the sense of *Hell*.

Of the 32 occurrences of *Asat*, Sāyaṇa understands it 9 times in the sense of 'is' (*asti* or *bhavati*), 2 times in the sense of 'was' (*āsīt*), 15 times

2 In *ṚV*., II. 26. 1, the word occurs as part of the compound *Abhyasat;* the the forms *ásan* and *asan* occur 7 times and twice respectively, but even these *two* words are nowhere understood in any of their occurrences to mean any **sort** of *location*, either by the traditional commentators or by western interpreters of the Veda.

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in the sense of 'should be or might be' (*bhavatu*, *bhavet* or *syāt*), 3 times in the sense of 'untruth' (*asatyam*), and *once* each in the senses of 'inauspicious' (*aśubham*), 'unmanifest' (*avyākṛtam*), and 'indescribable' (*nirupākhyam*).

Of the 15 occurrences of the form *Asat*, 6 times it means 'is' (*asti*), two times 'was' (*āsīt* or *abhavat*), 3 times 'let it be' (*bhavatu*), and *once* each in the senses of 'will be' (*bhaviṣyati*), 'might be' (*bhavet*), 'goes or reaches' (*gacchati, prāpnoti*), and 'fruitful' (*phalasādhanasamarthaḥ*).

The form *Asataḥ* occurs *thrice*, and *once* each the word means 'of the villain' (*duṣṭasya*), 'of the demon' (*rākṣasasya*) and 'of the not yet existing Brahman' (*asatsamānāt brahmaṇaḥ*).

The form *Asati* occurs 7 times; 4 times it means 'is' (*asti* or *bhavati*), and *once* each it means 'let it be' (*astu*), 'colourless Ether' (*nīrūpe antarikṣe*), and 'unmanifest' (*avyākṛte*).

The forms *Asatā, Asati,* and *Asatyāḥ* occur *once* each and mean 'misery' (*duḥkhena*), 'is' (*bhavati*) and 'untruthful' (*vācikasatyarahitāḥ*).

Leaving aside the verbal usages which are of no use here, Sāyaṇa's meanings[3] to the word are, therefore, 'inauspicious', 'unnameable', 'unmanifest', 'untruth', 'misery', 'fruitful', 'to go or reach', 'villain', 'demon', and 'ether'.

Roth and Bohtlingk[4] seem to accept only *three* of the meanings given to the word by Sāyaṇa viz., 'unnameable or indescribable', 'unmanifest'.

3 Yāska supports Sāyaṇa in so far as the first of these meanings is concerned, the forms *ásat* and *asan* occur once each in the *Nirkuta* (V. 19 & IV. 19 respectively) and mean respectively 'will be' (*bhavati*) and 'may be' (*syuḥ*) as interpreted by Yāska. The word does not occur in the *Nighaṇṭu*. That Sāyaṇa also follows the tradition laid down by his predecessors in the field of Vedic interpretation may be inferred from the fact that commentators on the Veda like Skandasvāmin, Udgitha, Veṅkaṭamādhava and Mādhava, who lived long before him, interpret the word *Asat* exactly as Sāyaṇa does in the several contexts in which it occurs. Excepting the case of Veṅkaṭamādhava's commentary, a complete Ms. of which is available (*Adyar Library Ms.*, No. xxxviii, D. 15), the rest are available only in fragments in their printed form. Hence of the several occurrences of the word *Asat*. Skandasvāmin's interpretation is available only for *ṚV*., I. 9. 5; 107. I; .14. I. Udgītha's gloss for *ṚV*., X. 5. 7; 10. 11; 27. 1; 29. 2, and Mādhava's commentary for *ṚV*., I. 9. 5; 57. 2. (See *Ṛgvedabhāṣya* of Skandasvāmin (Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 8), edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja; *Ṛgveda* with the commentary of *Udgitha-Ācārya* (Dayananda College Sanskrit Series, No. 15), edited by Viśvabandhu Sastri; *Ṛgvedavyākhyā Mādhavakṛtā*, edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja (Advar Libary, 1939).

4 *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, I. 547.

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and 'untruth'. They give the following meanings to the word: (1) *nicht seiend* (not existing), *nicht vorhanden* (not present), *keine realität habend* (having no reality); (2) *wie es nicht ist oder sein sollte, seiner Bestimmung nicht ensprechend, unwahr, unrecht, schlecht* (as it is not or should not be, having any clear ascertainment, untrue, unjust, bad); (3) *nichtseiendes* (non-existing), *nichtsein* (non-existence); (4) *unwahrkeit* (untruth), *Lüge* (lie). The same is the case with Grassmann[5] who, understanding the word both as an adjective and as a noun, gives the following meanings: (1) *nicht seiend* (2) *unwahr, unheilsam* (3) *das Nichtseiende* (4) *unwahrkeit, lüge.*

To Wallis,[6] the word has only *two* meanings; when coupled with *vacas,* it obviously means 'false', and otherwise it always means 'not yet existing' which are the same as the 'untruthful' (*vācikasatyarahitāḥ*) and the 'unmanifest' (*avyākṛta*) of Sāyaṇa. His reasoning in support of his view runs: 'The word *Asat* is used in the *Ṛgveda* in two senses, as an adjective with *vácas* 'speech', and as the converse of *sát*.....In the first case the meaning is clear; it is equivalent to *asatyá,* the unreal or the false, the converse of that which is really the fact. When used with *sát* it occurs invariably in passages of a cosmogonic character; *sát* is said to be born from *ásat,* that is, translated into modern idiom, *ásat* precedes *sát,* or *ásat* becomes *sát;* we are told that Indra made *ásat* into *sát* in a trice; or *ásat* and *sát* are mentioned as in our hymn (X. 129) as belonging to the first creation. Where the two words are coupled together by a conjunction, *ásat* always precedes *sát.* The *ásat* must therefore have had in itself the potentiality of existence; it is not merely the 'non-existent', but may almost be translated the 'not yet existing', as *bhávat* is elsewhere opposed to *sát, jâyamānam* to *jātám,* and *bhávyam* to *bhūtám.* It is not colourless as our word 'nothing', it is the negation of *sát.* Thus the whole meaning expressed by these dark words is nothing more than the process of becoming, the beginning of development or creation".

It is indeed in *ṚV.,* VII. 104=*AV.,* 4 that we get an almost complete picture of what we might call the "hell" of the Vedic people. We read here of a serpent-infested hovel, cold, dark and silent, which is situated down below, where there is neither the Sun nor any other kind of light and which is a veritable place of complete annihilation. Indra, Soma

5 *Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda,* p. 153.
6 *Cosmology of the Ṛgveda,* pp. 61ff.

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and Agni are requested by their devotees to consign to this horrid place the entire legion of their enemies, whether they be the *Rākṣasas* or the *Yātudhānas*, the *Mūradevas* or the *Kimīdins*. There is no indication in this hymn or anywhere else in the *Ṛgveda* that this place is the natural abode of these enemies of the Vedic poets.[7] Moreover, the so-called anti-divine creatures denominated diversely by the Vedic seers by such terms as the *Dasyus, Rākṣasas, Śiśnadevas*, and *Mūradevas*[8] are no more than the aboriginal inhabitants who lived side by side with the Vedic people, without observing the religious rites and sacrifices performed by them; and it is only out of full devotion to his gods that the Vedic seer invoked them to punish all these neighbours who were of a separate belief and who did not observe his rituals.[9] Nor is there any warrant for the statement that the "ordinary mortals who have offended in some inadvertent manner hardly are in danger of it (hell).[10] The following verses[11] bear ample testimony to the fact that both the ordinary sinner as well as the 'demon' met with the same punishment:

इन्द्रासोमा दुष्कृतो वज्रे अन्तरनारम्भणे तमसि प्र विध्यतम ।

यथा नातः पुनरेकश्च नोदयत् तद्वामस्तु सहसे मन्युमच्छवः ।।

यो मा पाकेन मनसा चरन्तमभिचष्टे अनृतेभिर्वचोभिः ।

आप इव काशिना संगृभीता असन्नस्त्वासत इन्द्र वक्ता ।।

न वा उ सोमो वृजिनं हिनोति न क्षत्रियं मिथुया धारयन्तम् ।

हन्ति रक्षो हन्त्यासद् वदन्तमुभाविन्द्रस्य प्रसितौ शयाते ।।

7 Norman Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 78f.

8 Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 155, 157; Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 150 n.; Keith, *JRAS.*, (1911), p. 1002 n.; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, II. 382; Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV. 407 ff.; Grassmann, *op. cit.*, p. 1053. Sāyaṇa seems to consider the *Mūradevas* to be a sort of wild tribe regaling in murder (*māraṇakriḍāḥ*), but Roth and Bohtlingk (*op. cit.*, V. 851) seem to consider them as a 'species of goblins' (*gewisser unholde*).

9 Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 33.

10 Norman Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 78. 11 *RV.*, VII, 104. 3, 8, 13 and 14.

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यदि वाहमनृतदेव आस मोघं वा देवां अप्यूहे अग्ने ।
किमस्मभ्यं जातवेदो हृणीषे द्रोघवाचस्ते निर्ऋथं सचन्ताम् ॥

In the first verse Indra and Soma are requested to plunge the evil-doers (*duṣkṛtaḥ*) into the depth which is pitch dark, so that none of them can ever come out, and thus see that their wrathful might prevails and conquers them. The term *duṣkṛt* here may ot necessarily denote only a *demon*, but means only any evil-doer (*Uebelthäter*).[12] The remaining three are imprecations on 'speakers of untruth' (*asadvācaḥ*, *droghavācaḥ*),[13] and do not definitely specify any group of wrong-doers; in the first of these verses, Vasiṣṭha curses in anger that the utterer of falsehood who unjustly accuses him who follows the right path only, may, even like water compressed by the hollowed hand, perish, and the slanderer mentioned here need not necessarily be a demon. The next verse says that Soma supports neither the crooked-minded nor one who poses as a kṣatriya, but slays instead both the former fiend and the latter utterer of falsehood; both these culprits are also said to be entangled in the noose of Indra. Granting that the other verses indirectly at least refer to the villainy of demons, this verse clearly speaks of *two* kinds of offenders, the demon as well as the utterer of falsehood who must belong to the Vedic clan alone, and both of whom suffer the same penalty. In the last verse Vasiṣṭha is chafed at the displeasure of Jātavedas towards him for no offence on his part, and points out that Agni's anger towards him is unjustified for he worshipped neither false gods (*anṛtadevāḥ*) nor accused the gods as being sham and that *destruction should fall only on those who utter lies* (*droghavācaḥ*). This last statement of Vasiṣṭha should prove that the punishment spoken of repeatedly in this hymn is meant not for any particular class of people, but for all those who go against moral law, by uttering untruth, for instance.

In Vedic India, gambling, uttering falsehood, stealing, seduction, adultery, sorcery and witchcraft[14] were considered sinful. From the re-

12 Grassmann, *Ṛgveda*, I. 380.

13 Grassmann ,(*Ibid.*, p. 381) renders these words by *Lügner*, and *Lügenredner* respectively.

14 *ṚV.* X. 34; I. 152. 1; 42. 3; X. 34. 4; II. 29. 1; VII. 104. 24, 15.

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peated emphasis laid on following ancient tradition[15] (*purveṣām panthāḥ*) it is possible to infer that neglect of this duty was also considered criminal. But sin also meant to the Vedic seer not worshipping the customary gods (*adevayuḥ*), being averse to prayer (*brahmadviṣaḥ*), being irreligious and offering no oblations and no prayer (*avratāḥ, apavratāḥ, akarmakṛt*); and the sinner was always punished irrespective of the race to which he belonged. True that the *Dasyus*, the *Rākṣasas*, the *Śiśnadevas* and the like were always sinners according to the above definition, but this fact does not preclude the possibility of the existence[16] of sceptics even among the Vedic people who were condemned by the orthodox as vehemently as were the aboriginal neighbours who fall outside their clan. It is these sceptics that should have been designated by such names as *adevayuḥ, brahmadviṣaḥ, avratāḥ, apavratāḥ, asunvataḥ, arātayaḥ, apṛṇataḥ, aśasaḥ*[17] and then condemned in measureless terms. The aboriginal group should have been composed of the *Dasyus, Mūradevas, Rākṣasas, Asuras, Śiśnadevas, Kimīdins*[18] and the like.

In the hymn under consideration, it is only *three* verses that contain the word *Asat* and rightly understood, not one of these can prove that *Asat* means a *location* or the *name of a location* as we are asked to understand.[19] *Two* of these verses[20] have already been commented upon, but

15 *ṚV.* X. 14. 15; 130. 7; I am indebted to my revered professor, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, for this suggestion.

16 That such a set of people existed in Vedic times is well-known. The *Nirukta* of Yāska (I. 15 ff.) mentions the instance of *Kautsa* who, not content with questioning the authority of the Vedas, puts forth many an interesting argument to prove that they are meaningless and that their study is hence futile. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* which contains several passages in it (I. 2. 18 and 19) where attempt is made to show the superiority of the *AV.* over the other three Vedas may also be regarded as an attempt in the same direction (see my paper, "The Atharvaveda and the Nyāyamañjarī of Jayantabhaṭṭa", *Indian Culture*, IV. 369 ff.) For an excellent treatment of this subject see *Introduction to the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta* by Lakshman Sarup, pp. 71ff.

17 To the same category belongs the *akarman, anṛic, anindra, anyavrata, apavrata, abrahman, ayajvan, ayajyu* (cf. Muir, *op. cit.*, IV. 410).

18 Sāyaṇa takes this word to mean a carper or calumniator who is ever ready to pick holes (*Kimidānīm iti carate piśunāya*); but Roth and Bohtlingk (*op. cit.*, II 287) and Grassmann (*op. cit.*, p. 325) take the word to mean 'a class of evil-spirit' So does Griffith (*Ṛgveda*, II. 98 n.).

19 Norman Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

20 *ṚV.* VII. 104. 8 ,3.

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the following verse[21] where *Asat* means 'untruth may be considered now':

सुविज्ञानं चिकितुषे जनाय सच्चासच्च वचसी पस्पृधाते ।

तयोर्यत् सत्यं यतरदृजीयस्तदित् सोमोऽवति हन्त्यासत् ॥

This verse, according to Sāyaṇa, means that to a thoughtful man it is easy to understand that truth and falsity are opposites; Soma verily favours only that which is truer and more right, but smites the untrue (*Asat*). The explanation of this verse given by Grassmann,[22] Whitney,[23] and Griffith[24] are in the main identical with this interpretation of Sāyaṇa which is quite acceptable. In the face of all this, one feels that it is to give too far-fetched an interpretation to think that the above verse means as follows:

"There is a clear distinction for a man clever (in religion). True (*sat* = existent) and untrue (*asat* = non-existent) charms conflict. The true one, the straighter, just the one Soma favours. He destroys the untrue."[25]

The too well-known cosmogonic hymn in the *RV*. (X. 129) is most naturally understood as speaking of the birth of the world from the primordial chaos which defies all attempts at description; it would only be to read one's own prepossessed ideas into this hymn to imagine that it narrates the refashioning of this improvised world from what was originally the disordered den of demons.

With the rejection of the view that *Asat* means *Hell* in the Veda, the need to explain how the word changed its meaning later is also obviated. That the Upaniṣadic *Brahman* has its antecedent in the *Saṃhitās*[26] is an indisputable proposition. It is not by such fanciful hypotheses as the probable unification of *Sat* with *Asat* which was often unnamed and sometimes named, that this is satisfactorily proved. It is only in the philosophic portions of the *Saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, in the pantheistic and monotheistic hymns and passages in these texts, in the conception therein of *Brahman* and *Prajāpati*, of *Puruṣa* and *Skambha*, of *Hiraṇyagarbha* and

21 VII. 104. 12.
22 *Rgveda*, I. 381.
23 *Atharvaveda*, p. 488.
24 *Rgveda*, II. 99.
25 Norman Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
26 See my "Meaning of Brahman and Ātman in the Rgveda" in course of publication in the *Indian Culture*; "Soul in Ṛgveda" in *Review of Philosophy and Religion* (vol. XI, p. 51 ff.).

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Viśvakarman that we have to seek for the real antecedents of the *Brahman* of the Upaniṣads.

The Ṛgvedic hell must still remain unnamed, though we know of its existence by such descriptions of it as that it is situated down below, that it is dark and cold, and that the sun never shines there.

H. G. NARAHARI

The Gunapatākā

In vol. XVII of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Mr. P. K. Gode has a note on the work called *Guṇapatākā*. He records five references to the work and suggests that the work was earlier than 1200 A.D.

The interesting work *Guṇapatākā* caught my attention as early as 1933, when I noted down the following references to and quotations from it:—

1. Dakṣiṇāvartanātha quotes from it in his commentary on the *Meghadūta*, T.S.S. edn. LXIV, p. 63:

यथा गुणपताकायाम्—

वियोगे चायोगे प्रियजनसदृक्षानुगमनं
ततश्चित्रालोकं(कः) स्वपनसमये दर्शनमपि ।
तदङ्गस्पृष्टानामुपगतवतां स्पर्शनमिति
प्रतीकारः कामव्यथितमनसां कोऽपि गदितः ॥

2. This same verse is quoted also by Pūrṇasarasvatī in his commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava*, Madras Ms. R. 3071. pp. 44-45:

वियोगे ... ... सदृक्षानुभवनं
ततश्चित्रालोकः ... . ।
... ...
... ... ॥ इति गुणपताकोक्तेः ।

3. More important than these two references or those recorded by Mr. Gode are those made to this work in that well-known Kāma Śāstra work *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka. The *Guṇapatākā* is one of the source-books for Kokkoka, even as Vātsyāyana's work, and Kokkoka accepts the treatment of some topics as found in the *Guṇapatāka*. There are three such references to the *Guṇapatākā* in the *Ratirahasya*.

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(a) *Ratirahasya*, p. 35, Kasi edn. ch. 4. śls. 3-4.

उक्तं **गुणपताकाया**मवस्थासु क्रिया च या ।
तामपि न्यायसंवित्तिसिद्धत्वादाद्रियामहे ॥
वाला ताम्बूल माला०— ॥

(the verse quoted, as noted by Mr. Gode, by Nārāyaṇadīkṣita on *Vāsavadattā*, and Harihara and Jagaddhara on *Mālatīmādhava*).

(b) *ibid.*, p. 37. ch. 4. śl. 7.

यत्प्रकृतीनां लक्षणमभिहितमधिकं च **गुणपताकायाम्** ।
तच्चाप्यनुभवसिद्धंस्फुटतरमभि धीयते किमपि ॥
स्निग्धनखनयनदशना ०— ॥

(c) *ibid.*, p. 44. ch. 4. śl. 25.

उक्तं **गुणपताकाया**मनुरागेङ्गितं च यत् ।
अजातजातभोगानां तत्साधारणमुच्यते ॥
ओष्ठाग्रं स्फुरतीक्षणे विचलतः ०— ॥

The commentary of Kāñcīnātha says in all these three places गुणपताकाख्य**शास्त्रे**, गुणपताकाख्य**शास्त्रे**, गुणपताकायां **शास्त्रे** and the characterisation of the work as Śāstra may be taken as showing that the work is an old, authoritative, source-book.

Except in the case of the verse वाला ताम्बूलमाला ०—reference No. 1, we are not able to be quite sure whether Kokkoka is quoting (in the two other cases) the verses in *Guṇapatākā* or is only reproducing the ideas in *Guṇapatākā* in his own words.

Regarding the nature of the work *Guṇapatākā*, it is pretty clear that it is a Kāmaśāstra treatise. It is likely, as can be made out by a passage cited by Mr. Gode in a foot-note (No. 1), that the work takes its name after the lady Guṇapatakā to whose queries the book is addressed in the form of answers by Mūladeva, he Nāgaraka, *par excellence*, of ancient India.

And regarding its date: Mr. Gode shows that it must be earlier than A.D. 1200. In the Sanskrit Introduction to the Kasi edition of the *Ratirahasya*, it has been pointed out that *Ratirahasya* III. 8. रक्तजाः कृमयः०— is found quoted in the *Jayamaṅgalā* (NS. Press, private edn. 1900. p. 78); I have shown in my thesis on Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* that Bhoja uses the *Jayamaṅgalā;* therefore *Guṇpatākā* must be considerably earlier than Bhoja (*c.* 1010-1062 A.D.).

V. Raghavan

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Bharata Mallika and his Patron

Bharata Mallika, the celebrated scholiast of Bengal, who can justly claim to be the Mallinātha of our province, was a most prolific writer of treatises, commentaries and tracts. As early as 1828 A.D. his famous commentary on the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* was published along with the *Jayamaṅgalā*[1] and his commentary on the *Amarakoṣa* was substantially reproduced in the *Śabdakalpadruma*. He had consequently earned an all-Bengal reputation, though belonging to the *Mugdhabodha* school of restricted provenance. His well-merited reputation has, however, considerably suffered in recent years for his allegiance to a non-Pāṇinian school of grammar.

His Works

His works may be divided into two classes viz. commentaries and independent treatises. Besides the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* he wrote popular glosses on all the five classical epics, whose manuscript copies, mostly fragmentary, are available in the Ms. libraries of Bengal.

(1) The commentary on the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* is significantly named the '*Mugdhabodhinī*' and is undoubtedly the best commentary on the book in the whole of India. His lucid explanations on all connected topics, grammatical, rhetorical, textual and exegetical, display an all-round scholarship. It is a pity that the students of Pāṇini even in Bengal do not appreciate the merits of one of the best scholiasts that the province can boast of. He is largely indebted in this work to another great scholar of Bengal, Puṇḍarīkāṣa Vidyāsāgara of the Kalāpa school.[2]

(2) The common name of the rest of his commentaries seems to be '*Subodhā*'; that on the *Kumārasambhava* extends up to the 7th canto. According to Bharata this epic originally consisted of 16 cantos, the last eight of which were lost by chance, while the 8th one was cursed by Pārvati Herself! Thus,

तस्य शेषाष्टसर्गस्य सञ्चारोऽभून्न दैवतः ।
पाठोऽष्टमस्य सर्गस्य देवीशापात्र विद्यते ॥[3]

1 Edition in 2 vols. Education Committee, Calcutta, 1828 A.D. Jivananda's several editions of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* as well as Gurunātha's editions completely published Bharata's comm.

2 *Vide Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. XLVII. pp. 152-53. Bharata rarely refers in this work to his predecessors by name, but Vidyāsāgara has been cited by name several times e.g. on X. 23, 66, 73; XI. 4, 42; XII. 57, 78 &c.

3 *Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, Sans. Coll., Calcutta, vol. VI (Kāvya) pp. 16-17.

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This commentary is concise and short.

(3) For the comm. on the *Raghuvaṃśa vide* Eggeling: *I. O. Cat.* p. 1415.

(4) on the *Kirāta, vide ibid.*, p. 1429.

(5 on the *Śisupālavadha, vide* Eggeling, *op. cit.*, p. 1432. This is an exhaustive commentary full of references to a large number of previous commentators. According to Bharata the poet Māgha was a king (माघनामा नृपः). In a fragment we examined in Calcutta (extending up to the 2nd canto) there are quotations from the following commentators:[4] Daṇḍapāṇi (fol. 5b & 18a), Dhṛtikara (29a), Dhṛtidāsa (6a, 30b), Padmanābha (5a), Baladāsa (6b, 15a), Bhagīratha (18b), Bhavadatta (often), Madhusūdana (8b) and Vallabha (often). But the most interesting of all are two rare references to Mallinātha and Rāyamukuṭa, which are reproduced below:—

(i) (on verse II. 16) **सर्व्वङ्कषायां** वदनेति पाठः, स तु...(अ)मूलो वर्णाश्रमोऽन्यटीकाकृद्भिरव्याख्यातत्वात् प्राचोनबहुपुस्तकेष्वदृष्टत्वाच्च। (fol. 38b)

(ii) (on verse II. 20) वासितं सुरभीकृते इति धरणिस्तदभिप्रायेण वासः सौरभ्यमिति **बृहस्पतिमिश्रः**। (fol. 39b)

It is likely that Bharata was borrowing without acknowledgement from a previous Bengali commentator Candraśekhara who was equally rich in quotations.[5]

(6) Bharata as a scholiast reached his peak by successfully tackling the crux of Indian commentators viz. Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadha*. A part (cantos I-III) is now available in print fully keeping up his reputation, though, unlike his *Māgha-ṭīkā*, he refrains here from naming his numerous predecessors.[6]

(7-10) Bharata also commented on the popular lyrics of his times,

4 Sans. Ms. No. 774 of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta.

5 *Vide* Eggeling: *I. O. Cat.*, pp. 1433-34. Candraśekhara flourished *circa* 1500 A.D. being a son of Viṣnu Paṇḍita one of the teachers of Caitanyadeva; Candraśekhara's brother Mahādeva wrote a commentary on the *Anargharāghava* in 1494 A.D. (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. XLVII, pp. 243-53).

6 Ed. with three comm. of Nārāyaṇa, Bharata and Vaṃśivadana by Nityasvarūpa Brahmacāri, Calcutta, 1326 B.E. pp. 232. The Ms. preserved in the Sans. Coll., Calcutta (*Des. Cat.*, VI, p. 39) goes up to Canto X (fol. 306).

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four of which have so far been discovered viz. glosses on the *Meghadūta, Ghaṭakarpara, Nalodaya* and the *Gītagovinda.*[7]

(11) Bharata's reputation in the indigenous schools rests, however, on the *Mugdhabodhinī,* commentary on the *Amarakoṣa,* where his scholarship in grammar and lexicography is displayed at its best. It is undoubtedly the best and the largest etymological work in the *Mugdhabodha* school and is full of references to previous authors and works. It begins:—[8]

नत्वेशं कुरुतेऽम्बष्ठः गौराङ्गमल्लिकात्मजः । टीकाममरकोषस्य भरतो मुग्धबोधनीम् ॥
यः पाणिनीयादिभिरत्र टीकाः कृता महद्भिर्बहुभिर्महत्यः ।
ताभिः प्रहृष्यन्ति न मौग्धबोधास्तेषां नियोगेन ममोद्यमोऽयं ॥

and ends:—

इति नानाग्रन्थदृष्ट्या मुग्धबोधानुसारतः । सामान्यकाण्डे व्याख्यानं चक्रे भरतमल्लिकः ॥
इति हरिहरखानस्यान्वयवायप्रसूतो मुरहरपदसेवासक्तगौराङ्गजातः ।
अमरविहितकोषं मुग्धबोधानुसाराद् व्यवृत भरतसेनः पूर्वटीकादिदृष्ट्या ॥

Among the predecessors frequently cited by him the latest names are those of Vidyāvinoda, Ramānātha and Nayanānanda. An edition of the book is a long-felt want, though it has been thoroughly utilised in the *Śabdakalpadruma.*

Among his original works there are two genealogical treatises, the *Candraprabhā* and the *Ratnaprabhā* both available in print. The former, a close print of 450 pages of Sanskrit verses,[9] is a monument of industry, where a bewildering mass of details has been collected and recorded about every single Vaidya family of rank in Bengal including the author's own family. It was written when the author was in the company of his own grandchildren named in the book (p. 32). He wrote about his own works thus:—

वैद्यानामाज्ञया योऽयं कुरुते कुलपञ्जिकाम् ।
चकार चापरान् ग्रन्थान् द्रुतबोधादिकान् बहून् ॥

From this it would appear that the first book he wrote and probably the best in his own opinion was the *Drutabodha,* an independent Sanskrit grammar consisting of metrical Sūtras, explained by himself in a long com-

7 For *Meghaṭikā, vide* Eggeling, *I. O.,* p. 1422. On the *Nalodaya, ib.* p. 1425. A fragment on Jayadeva in the library of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta (Sans. Ms. No. 39). L. 3172 for gloss on Ghaṭakarpara.

8 From a complete Ms. dated 1705 Śaka belonging to the present writer.

9 Ed. by Kaviraja Binodlal Sen, Calcutta, 1299 B.S.

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mentary called the *Drutabodhinī*.[10] Two medical works, *Ratnakaumudī* and *Sārakaumudī*, are also ascribed to him showing that he did not neglect his own profession by caste. The rest of his works so far discovered are very small but useful treatises in verse on different grammatical topics meant evidently for memorising viz.

(i) *Ekavarṇārtha-saṃgraha* on monosyllabic homonyms.[11]
(ii) *Dvirūpadhvani-saṃgraha* on multiform words.
(iii) *Upasargavṛtti* on the prepositions.
(iv) *Sukhalekhana* on orthography.
(v) *Kārakollāsa*.

The last named book, which has been published,[12] probably forms part of a bigger work as its name signifies. We examined recently an old copy, dated 1635 Śaka, which begins as follows:—

हरिनामामृते नाम्नि कारकं परिशिष्यते ।
कारकं स्यात् क्रियामूलं क्रिया धात्वर्थ उच्यते ॥

The colophon runs:—[13]

इति श्रीभरतसेनकृतौ **हरिनामामृते व्याकरणे** कारकोल्लासः समाप्तः । (fol. 9[b]).

His Date

There is great confusion among scholars regarding his date which, however, can now be fixed correc Colebrooke[14] believed that he flourished in the middle of the 18th century A.D., so also R. L. Mitra. On the other hand R. Śarmā (p. xx Intr., *Kalpadrukoṣa* vol. I) wrongly stated that Durgādāsa Vidyāvāgīśa in his commentary on the *Kavikalpadruma* written in 1561 Śaka (1639 A.D.) cited from Bharata's *Amaraṭīkā*. This is entirely due to an oversight, the reference being to an edition of the *Kavikalpadruma* with Durgādāsa's commentary (Calcutta, 1897), where the editor Śivanārāyaṇa Śiromaṇi enriched the commentary with supplementary notes, added within brackets, from Bharata and other writers. Durgādāsa as a matter of fact never cited from Bharata in any of his works.

10 *Vide Des. Cat., of Sansk. Mss.*, A.S.B., Pt. I (Grammar), 1877, p. 21.
11 (i) Printed in the *Vidyodaya* for 1888, pp. 9-14. (ii) *vide I. O. Cat.*, pp. 295 For (iii) *Des. Cat., Sans. Coll.*, Calcutta, vol. VIII, pp. 99-101. For (iv) L. 568.
12 Ed. Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, No. 8.
13 Ms. belonging to Pandit Yatindranātha Tarkatirtha of Navadvipa.
14 *Koṣa* by Umura Singha, 1807, Preface, p. vi. According to Mitra 'his age is about 1750 A.D.' (*Des. Cat.*, A.S.B., Pt. I, 1877, p. 239).

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The printed edition of Bharata's *Candraprabhā* ends with the following statement:— (p. 450).

शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः १५६७, भरतमल्लिकस्य स्वहस्तलिखितपुस्तकसमाप्तिः ।

This gives us a clear date (1675 A.D.) for one of his works, but as the original manuscript is not available for examination some doubt may be entertained about its genuineness. But the *Candraprabhā* contains several clues for determining its approximate date. Let us refer to one. Kavicandra Datta, a celebrated Vaidya scholar of Bengal, wrote the *Cikitsāratnāvalī* in 1583 Śaka (1661 A.D.) as the following verse would show:—[15]

गङ्गातरङ्गलसदङ्गविहङ्गभृङ्गरङ्गस्फुरत्सततगुञ्जितमञ्जुकुञ्जे ।
दीर्घाङ्गनामनगरे कृतगुम्फनोऽयं ग्रन्थः कृशानुवसुबाणशशाङ्कशाके ॥

This Kavicandra of Dīrghāṅga or modern Digang near Vaidyavāṭi on the Ganges is incidentally mentioned in the *Candraprabhā*:—

रामेश्वरः स्वदैवेन दत्तवंशभुवः सुताम् ।
कविचन्द्रस्य जग्राह दिगङ्गेऽपत्यवर्जितः ॥ (p. 60)

The *Candraprabhā* stops in this section with the mention of the sons of Rāmeśvara's younger brother, one of whom Rāghava appears to have married a daughter of Kavicandra's son Kavivallabha:—

राघवो दत्तदीगङ्ग-कविवल्लभजापतिः ।

Kavicandra is also mentioned on p. 296:—

रामजीवनदासोऽयं दैवाद्दीगङ्गवासिनः ।
कविचन्द्रस्य दत्तस्य कन्यकां परिणीतवान् ॥

and here also the section ends with the mention of a brother's son. There is no doubt, therefore, that Bharata was a true contemporary of Kavicandra and the date of his work *Candraprabhā* (1675 A.D.) appears to be quite correct.

A Ms. copy of Bharata's *Upasargavṛtti* has been described as being dated in '907 Sāla' (that is, Bengali Era) corresponding to 1500 A.D.[16] There is absolutely no doubt that the date is wrong whether it refers to the Bengali era or even the Mallābda. This is a notable instance of how a careless recording of a date may be responsible for unsound speculations among scholars.

15 Eggeling, *I.O. Cat.*, p. 958.
16 *Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, Sans. Coll., Calcutta, vol. VIII, p. 101.

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According to the editor of the *Kārakollāsa* (pp. 3-4) Bharata wrote the *Amarakoṣa-ṭīkā* in 1703 A.D. (i.e. 28 years after the *Candraprabhā* which itself was written at an advanced age) on the strength of the following verse, 'composed by Bharata himself,' found in a manuscript:—

शर-युगल-रसैकख्यातशाके घटेने निजतनयसुखार्थं पाठकानां सुतुष्यै ।
व्यरचि भरतसेनेनेति या कोषटीका लिपिमलभत सेयं लिङ्गसंग्राहकल्पे ॥

This, however, is not a record of the date of composition but of the copy. An older copy dated 1622 Śaka exists in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.[17] In fact Bharata wrote this commentary exactly in 1599 Śaka (1678 A.D.), as the following statement is found at the end of the *Manuṣya-varga* in a copy:—[18] (fol. 20b)

॰मुग्धबोधिन्यां नृवर्गविवरणं समाप्तं ॥
ग्रन्थकारस्य शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः १५९९।९।१५।२५ ॥

A Ms. copy of Bharata's *Drutabodha* has been discovered dated 1581 Śaka (1659 A.D.); this is the earliest copy of his works so far discovered and was undoubtedly written in his lifetime. The colophon is given below:—[19]

प्रकीर्णपादः ॥ हरिहरखानकुलेन्दुर्बभ्वो गौराङ्गमल्लिकः ख्यातः (1)
तस्य तनूद्भव एतच्चक्रे भरतो नृपाज्ञातः ॥
इति सद्बोध-गौराङ्गमल्लिकात्मज-श्री-(भर)तसेनविरचितं द्रुतबोधव्याकरणं समाप्तं ।
शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः १५८१ ॥ श्रीसहदेवदासस्य पुस्तकमिदं (fol. 90b)

The period of Bharata's literary activity may now be correctly fixed between 1650 and 1680 A.D.

His Patron

We have seen above that Bharata wrote the *Drutabodha* at the request of his patron who was a 'king'. The *Raghuṭīkā* was also written at royal request (भूनृत्रिदेशात् *I.O.* p. 1415). At the end of the commentary on the *Meghadūta* we read:—

इति हरिहरखानख्यातवंशारविन्द-द्युमणिविमलकीर्त्तिभ्रात-गौराङ्गजातः ।
प्रियगुणिगणभूरिश्रेष्ठभूपालशिष्टे-रकृत भरतसेनो मेघदूतस्य टीकाम् ॥
(*I.O.* p. 1422)

17 *Des. Cat.* of *Sans. Mss.*, R.A.S.B., vol. VI, p. 307.
18 Belonging to the present writer, the date of the copy is 1705 Ś.
19 Sans. Ms. No. 881 of the Vangiya Sahitya Parisad, Calcutta. There are marginal notes probably from the *Drutabodhini*: on fol. 24a there is a note:—
जीवोप्याह तत्रैकस्यामेव क्रियायामीप्सिततममनीप्सिततमं चेति कथं द्वयं स्यात्.....।

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Bharata describes himself in the *Candraprabhā* as:—

भूरिश्रेष्ठमहीपालसभापण्डितविश्रुतः । (p. 32)

The *Māghaṭīkā* was, moreover, written for the benefit of the royal prince then under pupilage:—

यद्यपि टीकामस्य प्रज्ञा बहवो गरीयसीं चक्रुः ।
तदपि **पठन्नृपपुत्रप्रीत्य** स्पष्टामिमां कुर्वे ॥ (*I.O.* p. 1432)

Who was this king of 'Bhūriśreṣṭha who patronised this great scholar? A very curious mistake, due to a printer's devil or a scribe's prank, has gained currency among scholars that the name of this king was Kalyāṇamalla, son of Gajamalla. According to R. L. Mitra, Bharata's commentary (*Drutabodhinī*) on his own *Drutabodha* contained the following verses at the beginning:—

पद्मबन्धुकुलाम्भोधिशीतांशुर्लोकविश्रुतः ।
त्रैलोक्यचन्द्र इत्यासीत् कर्मूर ऋत्विजेश्वरः ॥
तत्पुत्रोऽस्ति पराभूतवैरस्त्रीमण्डनस्पृहः ।
सव्वेलक्षणसंयुक्तो गजमल्लो महायशाः ॥
तस्य कल्याणमल्लोऽस्ति नन्दनो बुद्धिसागरः ।
तेनेयं द्रुतबोधस्य टीकाक्रियत बोधिनी ॥[20]

All the above verses excepting the last line really belong to a commentary named *Mālatī* on the *Meghadūta* by Kalyāṇamalla.[21] A careless scribe must have blundered from one manuscript to another neatly transferring a work of Bharata upon the shoulders of a royal author outside Bengal. No princes of the solar line ever reigned anywhere in Bengal late in the 17th century A.D.

Bharata mentioned the name of his patron in the *Candraprabhā* as follows:—(p. 27).

इति प्रजाधीश्वरधीरवीर **प्रतापनारायण**सत्सदस्यः ।
श्रीकृष्णखानस्य जगत्प्रसिद्धां वंशावलीं श्रीभरतो जगाद ॥

The name of this Rājā Pratāpanārāyaṇa is now almost forgotten, though he was a most illustrious prince of his times. Bhāratacandra Rāya, the celebrated poet of Bengal, belonged to a junior branch of the same family also mentioned the name of Pratāpanārāyaṇa in one of his poems:—

भूरिशिट राज्यवासी नाना काव्य-अभिलाषी
ये वंशे प्रतापनारायण । (*Rasamañjarī*)

20 *Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, A.S.B., Pt. I (Grammar), 1877, p. 21 & p. cxv.
21 *Vide* Eggeling: *I.O. Cat.*, p. 1423. Also Mitra: *Notices of Sans. Mss.*, vol. VII, p. 149 No. 2383.

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Bhūriśreṣṭha or the Bhursut *pargana* is now scattered in the three districts of Howrah, Hughly and Burdwan. It was acquired by Rājā Kīrtichandra (1702-40 A.D.) of Burdwan from the hands of Pratāpanārāyaṇa's grandson, after which the family passed into obscurity. Pratāpanārāyaṇa's ancestor 'Rājā Kṛṣṇa Rāya' (belonging to a branch of the 'Mukherji' family of Rāḍhīya Brahmins) first got possession of the kingdom about 1500 A.D.; so that the family ruled for more than 200 years. According to popular legends in the locality a queen of this family fought successfully and saved the kingdom from the hands of the conquering Mahomedans, earning the title of 'Rāya-vāghinī'. A Bengali poet Rāmadāsa Ādaka, author of the *Anādimaṅgala* written in 1584 Śaka (1662 A.D.), mentions Rājā Pratāpanārāyaṇa as the reigning monarch and the next chief Rājā Naranārāyaṇa was ruling in 1092 B.E. (1685 A.D.)[22] This is in perfect agreement with the date of Bharata fixed by us above.

Bharata belonged to the village "Piṇḍira" (in the Hughly district), as stated by Ward (*The Hindoos*, 1822 Ed. London, vol. II, p. 485) and by Gopālakṛṣṇa Rāya in the अम्बप्रसम्वादिका (1256 B.E., p. 68):—

एवन्ततकुलसम्भूतो भिषग् भरतमल्लिकः ।
पिट्ड्या-ग्रामनिवासी स शास्त्रज्ञः पण्डितः सुधीः ॥

Against this the current tradition of his present descendants (Intr. to the *Kārakollāsa* &c.) cannot be accepted.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Śrī Śaṃkara in Cambodia?

Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Indian Review* (February, 1940) and Mr. K. A. Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstri in the *Journal of Oriental Research* (vol. XI, pts. 3-4) have expressed the view that on the authority of a Kambuja inscription mentioning the installation of the god Bhadreśvara by Śiva Soma, we must assign Śaṃkara to about 800 A.D., because Śiva Soma, in the 39th verse of the inscription, is said to have learnt the Śāstras from Bhagavat

22 *Vide Rāya-vāghinī*, a semi-historical work in Bengali by Bidhu Bhusana Bhattacharyya, p. 159. The *Anādimaṅgala* has been published by the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. We have attempted to give a short history of the Bhursut family in the *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. 48, No. 4, pp. 189-200.

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Śaṃkara himself (*Bhagavat Śaṃkarāhvayāt*). Śiva Soma was the grandson of Jayendrādhipativarman, the maternal uncle of Jayavarman II of Kambuja, and the *guru* of Indravarman I (878-887 A.D.).

The inference that this Bhagavat Śaṃkara is no other than Ādi Śaṃkara seems to be unwarranted. I have shown elsewhere[1] that Śaṃkara lived towards the close of the sixth and in the beginning of the seventh century, as the contemporary of a number of Jaina, Bauddha, Naiyāyika, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃśaka, Vaiyākaraṇa authors and in any case cannot be later than Śāntirakṣita and Bhavabhuti (*c.* 720 A.D.). We should therefore be very careful before making a sweeping assertion assigning Śaṃkara to a date a century later.

In the history of Kambuja, the eighth century was a period of anarchy, Jayavarman III who had the posthumous name Parameśvara came to the throne in 787 A.D. His *Sdog Kak Thom* inscription says that the Parameśvara (Jaya II) came from Java to reign in Indrapura. He and his family *purohita* Śivakaivalya successively established themselves at Kandavāra Homa, Hariharālaya, and Amarendrapuri. This Śivakaivalya was ignorant of Śaiva Tantras and therefore learnt the Vināśika, Nayottara, Sammoha and Śiraccheda and the ritual of Jagattarāja (Bhadreśvara-Deva Rāja imported from Campā), from a Brāhmana Devarāja who had come from India (*janapada*). Another inscription of Ś. 815 (=893 A.D.) of Muni Śiva Śakti refers to the muni's ancestor whose brother and sister were Viṣṇu Vala and Prāṇā Kambuja Lakṣmī. The latter was the queen of Jayavarma II in about Ś. 724 (=802 A.D.) when the king founded Mahendra Parvata.

Jayavarma III Viṣṇuloka, a nephew of Śivakaivalya, seems to have ruled from 854 to 877 A.D. His successor Indravarma I belonged to a new dynasty in matriarchal relationship with the previous dynasties. His posthumous name was Īśvaraloka and he ruled from 877 to 889 A.D. His Baku inscription of Ś. 801 (=879 A.D.) refers to the installation of three images of Śiva with consorts dedicated to Pṛthvīndreśvara, Parameśvara, Rudreśvara, Pṛthvīndra Devi and Dhavanīndra Devi.

1 *The Age of Śaṃkara*. VIII Oriental Conference, Mysore; *Sources of Karṇāṭaka History*, vol. I, Univesity of Mysore; *Advaitācāryas of 12th and 13th Centuries, Winternitz Commemoration Volume, Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1938. *Q.J.M.S.*, April, 1930. *Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, vol. 12 1931.

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Indra I died in 889 A.D. His son Yaśovardhana became Yaśovarman I and began a glorious period of Kambuja history. He is the builder of the famous Angkor Thom (Yaśodharapura or Kambupura) and his conquests extended far and wide. Pāśupata Śaivism in Kambuja attained its climax.

We are concerned now with two inscriptions of his time mentioning Śiva Soma. The Sdog Kak Thom inscription (*B.E.F.E.O.*, XV, no. 2, p. 89) says that Yaśovarman's teacher in his boyhood was Vāma Śiva, the disciple of Śiva Soma, the *guru* of Indra I. The Phnom Sandak Inscription (*I.S.C.C.*, p. 336) of Ś. 817 (=895 A.D.) begins with an invocation to the Trimūrtis, Gaurī and Sarasvati (Śiva, Rudra, Dhūrjaṭi, Varāha, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Gaurī, Sarasvati). In stanza 18, it is said that during his reign (Yaśovarma's?) an eminent *muni* Soma Śiva was like an ocean of learning in the Śāstras. His disciple was the worshipper of Śrī Indravarmeśvara. The sea of Śiva Śāstra was churned by his Mandara like mind. He consecrated Śrī Bhadreśvara in Ś. 817 (=895 A.D.).

Thus we have the following synchronism:—

King.	*Purohita.*
Jayavarma II (787-854).	Śivakaivalya (brought the cult of Bhadreśvara—Deva Rāja (Jagattarāja) from Bhadrayogi, in the Vijaya of Indrapura.
Jayavarma III (854-877).	Sūkṣma bindu, the nephew of Śivakaivalya.
Indravarma I (877-889).	Śiva Soma.
Yaśovarman (889-910)	Vāma Śiva, disciple of Śiva Soma, consecrated Bhadreśvara in 895 A.D. Priest of Indravarmeśvara (Loley Inscription).

Yaśovarma consecrated two Śivaliṅgas Indravarmeśvara (in the name of his father) and Mahāpatīśvara (his maternal grand-father) and the goddesses Indradevī (his mother) and Rājendradevi (his maternal grand-mother). He brought Jagattarāja from Hariharālaya to Kambupuri (Angkor Thom), erected the central mount Yaśodharagiri, and the high priest was Vāma Śiva, the pontiff of Śivāśrama who consecrated the image. This grand monument may have been begun by Śiva Soma at Bayon (*Śivāśrama*) in the time of Indravarma I and Vāma Śiva in the time of Yaśovarman planned the subsequent developments. Whether Bayon was originally a Buddhist

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shrine dedicated to Avalokiteśvara, as Finot asserts, is a matter of controversy. But in the 9th century it became the centre of Pāśupata Śaivism. Yaśovarman made elaborate regulations for worship. Only Māheśvaras should officiate as priests of Indravarmeśvara. In the *āśrama*, the king, Brāhmaṇas, and after them Śaivācāryas and Pāśupatācāryas should have precedence. Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava ascetics should be honoured especially if they were versed, in Vyākaraṇa. A Sugatāśrama was established but the Bauddha Ācārya was considered inferior to a learned Brāhmaṇa.

These regulations remind us of the Kāḷāmukha centres in Karṇāṭaka-Beḷgāmvi, Hūli, Śrīśaila etc. The Kāḷāmukha university town at Beḷagāmbi, the Gōḷakīmaṭha in Āndhra and Tamil countries possessed enormous power and the Ācāryas were men of great learning giving instruction in the Vedas, Darśanas, Grammar etc., maintaining *ārogyaśālās* (hospitals) and *prasūtikārogyaśālās* (maternity hospitals), giving sanctuary to refugees and feeding people without distinctions, though Kāḷāmukhas (Māheśvara, Mahāvratin, Pāśupata, Lākuḷa etc. being their designations) were ardent Śaivas, yet they protected *catussamayas* (of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Buddha and Jina). The surnames of these ācāryas were Śiva, Śakti, Sambhu, Ābhāraṇa, jīya, vrati, muni etc. The inscriptions in Karṇāṭaka mention Vāma Śiva, Soma Śiva, Kedāra Śakti, Śrīkaṇṭha Śambhu, Viśveśvara Śiva, Lokābharaṇa and a host of others. The *Śaiva tantras* taught to Śiva Kaivalya, the *Vināśika, Nayottara, Sammoha* and *Śiraccheda* have all been traced by B. R. Chatterji. The *Śiraccheda* belongs to *Jayadratha Yāmaḷa*. The *Naya* and *Uttara* are parts of the *Niśvāsatattva Saṃhitā*. The *Vināśika* is a supplement to *Jayadratha*. In the *Brahma Yāmaḷa* the *Nayottara, Sammoha* and *Śiraccheda* are assigned to the Vāmasrotā. Whether these tantric texts were imported from Bengal or Karṇāṭaka is uncertain. The connection with Karṇāṭaka seems to be indicated by the mention of Śrī Satyāśraya, a minister of Yaśovarman well-versed in Astrology (*hōrā śāstra*) like Satyācārya. This minister established Mādhava (a Viṣṇu image) as Trailokyanātha in 910 A.D. The name Satyāśraya is the same as that of Iriva Bedanga Satyāśraya, the son of Tailapa II the Cāḷukya emperor of Kalyāṇi, who overthrew the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in 973 A.D. It was also the title of the earlier Cāḷukya emperors.

The evidence adduced above shows that Śaivism of Kambuja was not Advaitism of Śaṃkara whom scholars even now persist in calling him a Śaiva. No doubt Śrī Śaṃkara removed all the tantric practices from the

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Saṃmatas (Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Saura, Kaumāra, Gāṇāpatya and Śākta) and he would never have countenanced a tantric worship of Śiva according to *Jayadratha Yāmaḷa* etc. The name Śiva Soma seems but a transposition of Soma Śiva since his disciple Vāma Śiva had the same surname Śiva. There is no doubt that they are Kāḷāmukha Pāśupatas, and not Advaitins. Though the Kāḷāmukhas were also versed in Vedānta, their conception of the Supreme Being was entirely different. The first clear mention of Vedānta as such seems to have been in the time of Jayavarma V whose inscription of Ś. 890 establishing an *āśrama* mentions Vedāntins, Smṛtis, Yoga, Vedas and Vedāṅgas. However flattering to our pride in Śrī Śaṃkara it may be, to be told that his influence extended almost in his own lifetime to the lands beyond the seas, the chronological and doctrinal anachronisms cannot be overcome and the identification of Bhagavat Śaṃkara, the *guru* of Śiva Soma, with Ādi Śaṃkara should be rejected.

S. Srikantha Sastri

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REVIEWS

IRANIAN AND INDIAN ANALOGUES OF THE LEGEND OF THE HOLY GRAIL by Sir J. C. Coyajee. Bombay. 90 pp.

The Grail legend, in its different forms, is one of the most elusive but fascinating studies in the realm of folklore and mythology. Scholars have attempted to track it down to its source, and on the evidence stray parallelisms have ascribed its origin to Greek mythology, to the Eleusinian mysteries, to the cults of Samothrace and Crete. There have also been occasional admissions of the fact that the idea of the Grail or Royal glory was probably not European in its origin, but was common to the Aryan races and as such its earlier manifestations should be sought in the rich mass of allegorical stories of ancient India and of Iran. It is these two sources that the author analyses in this neatly printed volume. The Iranian folklore, as embodied in he *Avesta,* the *Yashts,* and the *Shahnāma,* afford the closest analogy to the Arthurian Cycle of the Grail romance and explain many hitherto unintelligible features and incidents. The idea of Royal Glory or Hvarno possessed by Kaikhusrau survived down to the medieval period in Iran when it was known as *Farr-i-Izadi* the divine light, and has been one of the cardinal features of Iranian tradition. Analogous conceptions are found in Indian mythology also. There are striking and significant resemblances to the Arthurian Romance and also to the Iranian Saga in the story of the elemental war between the Devas and Asuras for the possession of the four-fold symbol of worldly blessings *Śrī,* Earth, Cow and *Amṛta.* The association of water with the great Secret is common to all forms of the story. Other points of similarity are also noticeable, but as Sir Jahangir suggests, the monistic tendency of the Indian mind was unable to accept the war between Good and Evil (Deva and Asura) as a cardinal reality, whereas in Iran, the belief in the eternal rivalry of the two forces led to its development into a cult, centred on the god Mithra. It became a quest for the symbol of power (Hvarno or Grail) pursued by the two forces personified by the Iranian Kaikhusrau and Turanian Afrasiyab. Through the agency of the Roman empire the idea found its way to Europe where according to the author, Mithraism for a long time enjoyed a dominant position.

A. B. M. Habibullah

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THE MAHĀBHĀRATA for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sunthankar with the co-operation of other scholars. Fasciculus 11—Āraṇyakaparvan (1). Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941.

We accord our hearty welcome to the first fasciculus of the *Āraṇyakaparvan* of the monumental edition of the *Mahābhārata* undertaken and systematically pushed forward by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona. The fasciculus comprises the first 154 *adhyāyas* or about half of the *parvan*. It is edited by Dr. Sukhthankar himself. The edition is based on a collation of 28 manuscripts representing different recensions and versions. Several other manuscripts, not mentioned in the critical apparatus, are also stated to have been consulted wholly or in part and variants from them are recorded from time to time (4.7, 14.6). A manuscript of the Bengali version dated 1261 A.D. is perhaps the oldest Ms. consulted.

The edition could not profit by a comparison of Devabodha's Commentary and the Javanese version of the present section, as they are not available. But fortunately there were fewer textual difficulties in the *parvan* to be solved with their help. "The text of the Āraṇyaka", in the words of the learned editor, "is, relatively speaking, remarkably smooth." As a result of the critical analysis of the text and the collation of the mss. several passages occuring in the vulgate have been omitted in the edition. Of these special mention may be made of the sections dealing with Arjuna's temptation by Urvaśī (chapters 45-6 of the Bombay edition) and the killing of Naraka and the rescue of the earth by Viṣṇu (chapter 142 of the Bombay edition). These and other long omissions will be given in the form of an appendix in the concluding fasciculus of the parvan while minor omissions of lines and couplets are recorded in footnotes.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY by Dr. Jitendra Nath Banerjea, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Calcutta, pp. 458 with 10 plates.

The standard work on the subject was for a long time *The Elements of Hindu Iconography* by T. A. G. Rao. Various other works had appeared since the publication of that book but their scope being limited the value of Mr. Rao's work remained undiminished. Mr. Rao however had paid greater attention to the ancient texts on Iconography and did not do full

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justice to the archaeological side of the subject. Hence a comprehensive book co-ordinating the results obtained from the study of ancient iconographical texts as well as archaeology was a desideratum. Dr. Banerjea is to be congratulated for having fulfilled it.

The book contains eight chapters: Study of Hindu Iconography, Antiquity of image worship in India, Origin and development of image worship in India, Brahmanical divinities and their emblems on early Indian coins; Deities and their emblems on early Indian seals; Iconoplastic art in India; Iconographic terminology and Canons of Iconometry. Appendix A contains a number of important notes relating to the image worship and Appendix B contains a critical edition of a valuable iconographic text the *Pratimāmānalakṣaṇam*, brought from Nepal, an extract from the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* on Hindu iconography and tables of measurement from the texts. Appendix C contains a table of measurements of some mediaeval images.

In regard to the antiquity of image worship in India Dr. Banerjea has discussed all the important theories of previous writers, drawn attention to their short-comings and has given his considered opinion that there was no image-worship in the early Vedic religion. In other chapters he has clearly shown how Indian coins and seals can materially help us to ascertain the early iconographic types of Hindu divinities and their emblems. In the treatment of this subject he has introduced altogether new materials previously neglected. While dealing with the Indian canons of iconometry he has not overlooked the importance of a comparison of these canons with other canons. His discussion of the Iconographic terminology is as thorough as possible in the present state of our knowledge.

In short, this work is the outcome of years of careful study of Indian Archaeology and Iconographic literature. Every page bears the stamp of his erudition and reveals the great critical acumen of the author. It may be however pointed out that although the treatment of the subject under various heads is a continuous one the book has the appearance of a collection of articles. But this appearance of disconnectedness does not detract the value of the contribution and interfere with our following the development of the theme in each chapter in an uninterrupted way. A chapter on the evaluation of the iconographical data collected by him from the viewpoint of art would have probably increased the value of the book. This probably will be treated by the author in the forthcoming volumes which

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have been promised and which we hope will not be long delayed. The author has placed all students of Indian art under a deep debt of obligation and has made a valuable contribution to our store of knowledge.

P. C. Bagchi

INDIA AND THE PACIFIC WORLD by Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt., published by the Book Company Ltd., Calcutta, with a Foreword by Mr. Ramananda Chatterji, pp. 294.

Dr. Nag is without doubt one of the most widely travelled Professors and has seen things with his own eyes in both the hemispheres. He is thus in a far better position than many of us to compare things which are of interest to the present day India. With a certain amount of justification he introduces his book to the public in the following words: "The Pacific ocean in our early school days was made to appear too far away to have any relations with India and too vague and vast for seeking human relationship. Books of geography were mostly manufactured in the countries bordering on the Atlantic and therefore we find in them a pardonable exaggeration of the importance of the Atlantic civilisation. What was unpardonable however was the indifference and ignorance, betrayed by the general group of writers, regarding the history of the Pacific countries and their cultures." Such considerations have led Dr. Nag to remove a want which he himself has keenly felt like all of us.

He has dealt with almost all the important countries in and around the Pacific viz. Polynesia, the Maori land, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia, the Thailand, Indo-China, Java and Sumatra, China and Japan. He has surveyed the civilisation of all these countries, in all its important aspects: Pre-history, Anthropology, Archaeology and modern history. He has given in each of these branches a complete account of the important works done, the materials available for further studies and has appraised in a popular style the part played by the peoples of all these countries from the pre-historic ages up to the most recent times. He has specially drawn our attention to the part played by India in the dissemination of the higher forms of culture in those lands. He deals with things ancient as an able student of history and pre-history, and presents before us the things modern with the sympathy of Pierre Loti. This sympathy has at times instilled in him an amount of enthusiasm for the future which sometimes surpasses

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reasonable limits, but that does not in any way take away the value of the book. The author is to be warmly congratulated for this valuable production.

P. C. Bagchi

VARNA-RATNĀKARA OF JYOTIRĪŚVARA-KAVIŚEKHARĀCĀRYA edited with English and Maithilī Introductions and *Index Verborum* by Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.A.S.B. and Babua Misra, *Jyautiṣa-tīrtha* and *Jyotiṣācārya*, published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1940, pages Royal Octavo. lxiv + 8 + 266. (*Bibliotheca Indica* no. 262).

It is a great pity that Maithilī, the language of over ten millions of people in Bihar, with a long culture behind it and boasting of at least one great poet, Vidyāpati, whose position is of the first rank in Indian literature, is regarded in its own home-land as a rustic speech, Hindustani (High Hindī or Urdū) alone being recognised as the vernacular of the land in the schools and law courts. But in spite of this neglect to Maithilī by its native speakers this language with its wealth of literature (be it due to only one great writer) did not fail to claim the patronage of the University of Calcutta as early as 1919. Thanks to the efforts of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee the study of Maithilī along with other Modern Indo-Aryan languages was included in the syllabus of the M.A. examination. This fact may be said to lead to the publication of Jyotirīśvara's *Varṇaratnākara* the earliest extant work in Maithilī. Information of its existence in a unique MS. was given by the late Mm. Haraprasad Śāstrī as early as 1901. Since then this work has several times been referred to by scholars including Mm. Haraprasad and Prof. Chatterji. But it was not before 1923 that the plan of a regular edition of the *Varṇaratnākara* was taken in hand by Prof. Chatterji. As the MS. of the work in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society was not complete, a second text and a complete one was felt to be imperatively necessary for editing the work properly. But attempts in this direction not being successful during the years that elapsed since then the Asiatic Society MS. continues to be the unique MS. and only source of this valuable work.

The author of the *Varṇaratnākara*, Jyotirīśvara Ṭhakkura, is quite a well known figure in the late medieval Skt. literature. He is also the author of at least two Skt. works: the *Dhūrta samāgama*, a *prahasana* and the

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Pañcasāyaka a work on erotics. Besides these another work on erotics (*Raṅgaśekhara*) has also been ascribed to him (*JASB.*, 1915, p. 414 footnote).

From the prologue of the *Dhūrtasamāgama* we learn that Jyotirīśvara's father was Dhīreśvara and his grandfather was Rāmeśvara; that he was a high court official of the king Harasiṃhadeva of Mithilā who flourished in the first quarter of the 14th century. Lassen's view that Jyotirīśvara belonged to the 15th-16th centuries and was the court-poet of a Vijayanagara king, is no longer tenable, though Prof. A. B. Keith has unfortunately stuck to it in his *Sanskrit Drama*, (1924), even after the late Mr. Manomohan Chakravarti gave us authentic information about the date and personality of Jyotirīśvara (*JASB.*, 1915, p. 411).

The subject-matter of the *Varṇaratnākara* is very curious. It was composed probably for the *Kathakas* or public reciters of Puranic and Epic stories. In course of narration reciters embellished their stories by means of gorgeous descriptions. For example in describing a city they are to mention its bazars, suburbs, gates, walls, houses, buildings, temples, citizens etc. and besides this, in describing important objects chains of similies were heaped on them to impress the audience. The *Varṇaratnākara* is a handbook furnishing a catalogue of objects necessary to be enumerated in various descriptions as well as apt similies needed to glorify some of important items.

The habit of the *Kathakas* might have been derived ultimately from the Jains who in their canonical prose often use descriptive *clichés* called *Varṇakas*. It is possible, though earlier scholars seem to have overlooked the fact, that the ornate Sañskrit prose writer in the *Gauḍī rīti* had his cue from the Jain canons. As both these flourished in Eastern India a possibility of their genetic connexion may not be easily set aside.

In Pāli works too *Varṇakas* are met with; but they are not so plentiful as in Jain canons.

The *V.R.* is divided into eight *kallolas* which are as follows: (1) *nagara-varṇana*, (2) *nāyikā-va°*, (3) *āsthāna-va°*, (4) *ṛtu-va°*, (5) *prayānaka-va°*, (6) *bhaṭṭādi-va°*, (7) *śmaśāna-va°* and (8) title missing.

From the account of various subjects described or listed in this work the very great value of the *V.R.* as a compendium of life and culture in mediaeval India will be easily seen. The book in this respect will be to some extent comparable to the *Mānasollāsa* (12th century). In the glimpses it presents of the contemporary court-life and its surroundings, it calls to one's mind the famous *Aīn-i-Akbarī* with its lists and detailed

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accounts of various things. Although written a little over a century after the Turkī conquest of Northern India the work breathes a purely Hindu atmosphere. This fact is a sufficient indication of its genuineness, although the MS. was copied some two centuries later.

The varying views of life in North Eastern India of the 15th century as presented in the *V.R.* affords a valuable commentary on the epigraphic as well as other literary records of the contemporary and earlier periods. List of court officials and such other persons as given in the description of court (*āsthāna-va°*) for example is longer than similar lists in earlier Bengal and North-Eastern grants on copper plate. For the various other phases of cultural life of the period this work is of inestimable value. Sometimes it gives rare information. For example in describing different kinds of gambling it mentions the four-handed dice-chess or *caturaṅga* which has become thoroughly obsolete now. Those who are interested in the game may consult the Skt. text named the *Caturaṅgadīpikā* published in 1934 in Calcutta Skt. Series. It gives the rules of the game and its history. Music and dance described in the 6th *Kallola* of the *V.R.* also afford important materials for the history of these two subjects.

Though the *V.R.* may have importance from different standpoints the present edition stresses very rightly on its character as a linguistic document. For the *V.R.* is one of a comparatively small number of authentic works in a modern Indo-Aryan language, which goes back to the 14th century. In the language of the learned editor, its position is equally important with the 'Caryās and the 'Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana in Bengali, the 'Jñāneśvarī in Marāṭhī and the earlier old Western Rājasthanī, Braj-bhākhā and Awadhī works.

Prof. Chatterji, the chief editor of the work, in a very learned introduction, has pointed out among other things manifold importance of the work and discussed very thoroughly the life and times of the author as well as the varied contents of the work. The discussion of the language of the *V.R.* which forms a part of this introduction is all what can be expected from the hands of a veteran student of Modern Indo-Aryan like Prof. Chatterji. But, as he has admitted (p. xxv), quite a number of terms used in the work remains obscure. It is hoped that scholars of Mithilā will try to rescue these words which might have sought refuge with the pure Maithilī idiom of the lower classes. They may be easily gathered from the well prepared index of words which has been appended to the book. After all that have

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been said before it seems needless to add that the volume under review has made important addition to materials for reconstruction of the various phases of the culture of North-Eastern India. The learned editors and the Royal Asiatic Society have earned the gratitude of scholars by this important publication.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

PRAVEŚAKA by Acyuta Piṣārati, edited with Laghuvṛtti by P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri, published by the Sanskrit College Committee, Trippunithura, 1938.

The Praveśaka, an easy treatise on Skt. grammar in verse, was written in the latter half of the 16th century by the famous Kerala poet and grammarian Acyuta Piṣārati. The advantage of versification in helping memorisation can easily be understood. Hence it is found that more authors than one have composed metrical treatises on Sanskrit grammar. As is very natural for a practical hand-book written for general students this work does not scrupulously follow the Pāṇinian tradition. But in spite of this a study of the present work will give one a working knowledge of Sanskrit grammar necessary for writing and speaking the language correctly. This excellent work was in ms. up till the present time when through the munificence of the Maharaja of Cochin it has been published. The editor who has added a lucid Sanskrit commentary of his own to the work may be said to have done his duty properly. The printing of the work is good.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

VĀRARUCA-NIRUKTA-SAMUCCAYA edited by C. Kunhan Rajā. University of Madras. 1938. pp. xliii + 82 + 88.

This is a short work in which about one hundred Vedic mantras are commented upon. The work which has never been known before has been edited from a single ms. in the possession of the Adyar Library. Though more than one work was ascribed to Vararuci it does not seem possible to have any definite information about the life and time of the author of the present treatise. From the title it appears that the work has something to do with the Nirukta of Yāska and in fact the contents of the work amply shows his dependence in many cases on the famous Vedic interpreter of antiquity. Vedic mantras commented upon in this work have been divided into *Kalpas*.

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In classifying the mantras the author of the Vāraṛucanirukta-Samuccaya followed to a considerable extent a tradition different from the one followed in the *Bṛhaddevatā*. This latter work has divided the mantras into 36 classes while in the work under review we have 32 classes of mantras; and the two works have names of fifteen classes in common. But curiously enough when one takes into consideration the examples of these 15 classes given in the two works there does not appear much correspondence. The learned editor has among other things drawn attention to this fact. Besides this the present work offers other features which will interest students of Vedic exegetical literature. The editor of the work Dr. C. K. Raja seems to have done his work with all possible care and may be congratulated on its publication.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

BHĀRATVARSA-MEṂ JĀTIBHED (*Hindī*) by Prof. Kshitimohan Sen Shastri, M.A., published by S. Sharma, Calcutta, 1940, pages D/C 1/16, ii + 264.

Caste which is a peculiar Indian institution has for a long time been a target of attack by social and religious reformers as well as politicians. It cannot be said that this attack was unmerited. But zealous critics of caste have often in their enthusiasm lost sight of the historical background of this institution and subjected Indian society in general to undeserved condemnation. Hence the present work discussing the nature and origin of Indian caste from the standpoint of history has been a welcome addition to our knowledge of Indian society and its one great problem.

In course of tracing the history of caste Prof. Sen has shown among other things that this institution was very elastic in the earlier period (pp. 24-43) and when caste gradually became rigid, reaction set against it, and evidence of such reaction is to be met with even in some Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* (pp. 45, 47, 51-53). Besides this he has discussed thoroughly other aspects of caste with suitable references and quotations from works ancient as well as modern, and seemed to have cleared some obscure points in the history of Indian caste-system. Specialists as well as general readers will find this work very useful and interesting. Prof. Sen is already well-known for his valuable work in connection with mystics (*Santas*) of medieval India and it may be hoped that this work will add to his reputation.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

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SULTAN MUHAMMED QULI QUTUB SHAH by Dr. Syed Mohiuddin Qadri Zore, M.A., Ph.D. (London). Published by the Idara-i-Adabyat-i-Urdu. Hyderabad, Deccan.

This monograph in Urdu comes out from the pen of Dr. Zore, Head of the Department of Urdu, Osmania University.

Sultan Muhammed Quli Qutub Shah, renowned Urdu poet, founder of the city of Hyderabad, succeeded to the throne at the age of about 15 years, (to be exact he was 14 years 6 months and 8 days old), as the fifth Qutub Shahi king. In this book, the author has attempted to present a true and vivid picture of the social, intellectual, and cultural life of that period, as culled out from various unpublished sources, of which he has made ample use.

The author has very ably utilised the verses, poems and other poetic composition of this monarch, as well as, of other court poets. Being himself a poet of no mean a standard, he has succeeded in drawing an accurate portrait of the king. Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah has to his credit no less than 5670 verses in Urdu and Persian. Unfortunately his Telugu verses are lost for ever. No wonder his brilliant mastery over that language knitted him closer to his subjects. Although dubbed by some as the Happy-go-lucky monarch, it is under him Golcunda rose to the peak of power, with peace, prosperity, and plenty.

This book contains ten chapters, dealing with his succession, his taste and aptitude for fine arts. Three chapters are devoted to the cultural, social, intellectual and other aspects of his reign, while the fifth describes the wars, and the sixth speaks of his administration, seventh announces his demise. The last three chapters (8, 9, 10) go to prove his wider and saner outlook of life and his magnificent contribution to Urdu.

When we say all these things, we do not mean to say that the Sultan was free from vices. Far from it, his own admission of his faults ring in our ears. There was more of romance in his temperament than in his career. Yet with all his shortcomings, he stands out prominent in the gallaxy of rulers of the Deccan. Truly, then in forming an estimate of the character and achievements of Sultan Muhammed Quli Qutub Shah, we may point out to the city of Hyderabad, and by way of epitaph on the grave of Sultan Muhammed Quli, we may inscribe the old verse.

'Si monumentum requiris circumspice'. (If you require a monument look around you).

[illegible] 1942

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We congratulate the author for his work, and hope that in near future he would give us its English version for the use of scholars all over India. The book is nicely printed with a useful index and 19 photo blocks, for which the Idara-i-adabyat-i-Urdu deserves our compliments.

K. Sajun Lal.

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Select Contents of the Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. VI, pt. 2

P. K. Gode.—*Date of Rāmatīrtha Yati, the Author of a Commentary on the Saṅkṣepaśārīraka.—Between A.D. 1525 and 1575.*

Serial Publications.—*Editions of the Jīvānandanam* of Ānandarāya Makhin and the *Āpastambasmṛti*, English Translations of the *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra* with *Devasvāmibhāṣya* and the *Gopālatāpanyupaniṣad* and the Edition of the *Acyutarāyābhyudaya* of Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima continue to appear in the Journal. The *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* of Vedāntadeśika and the *Ālambanaparīkṣā* and the *Vṛtti* of Diṅnāga with the commentary of Dharmapāla are completed in this issue.

Journal of the Assam Research Society, vol. VIII, no. 4 (October, 1942)

P. D. Chaudhury.—*The Khonamukh Copper-plate Grant of Dharmapāla of Prāgjyotiṣa.* It relates to a set of three copper-plates recording the grant of a plot of land by the Kāmarūpa king Dharmapāla of the 12th century to a Brāhmaṇa at Khonamukh in Nowgong in Assam. The plates containing genealogies of the donor and the donee were made in the first year of the king's reign, and are therefore earlier than the other copper-plate inscriptions previously published.

N. K. Bhattasali.—*The Badgaṅgā Rock Inscription of Mahārājādhirāja Bhūtivarman.* This inscription in Gupta script records the establishment of a religious asylum (āśrama) by a minister of king Bhūtivarman, a great predecessor of king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. Bearing as it does the date 234th year of the Gupta era (554 A.C.), this becomes the earliest inscription hitherto discovered in Assam.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. XXVIII, pt. 1 (March, 1942)

P. C. Manuk.—*Indian Painting.* This paper deals in broad outline with the history and development of 'Pictorial Art' in India up to the recent past, beginning from the pre-historic period representing drawings in red pigment found on the walls of caves in C.P. and U.P.

D. R. Regmi.—*Sources for a History of Nepal (880 A.D.—1680 A.D.)* Inscriptions, genealogical chronicles, old manuscripts, foreign accounts

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and coins are found helpful in gathering information from the time of Rāghavadeva to that of the pre-Gorkha Malla Karṇāṭakas, covering a period of eight hundred years of Nepalese history.

R. Ojha.—*The Indra-Vṛtra War and 'Serpent People.'* Mythical stories similar to that of the struggle between Indra and Vṛtra as found in the Vedic and Purāṇic literature were known to the ancient people of Babylonia, Egypt, Greece and Persia. The Jews and the Hittites had also the myth among them in some form or other. This may be due to a common origin or a borrowing from the pre-Aryan mythology. Prevalence of serpent worship and reference to 'serpent people' are also a characteristic feature of the mythological accounts of the various peoples of ancient times inhabiting a wide area of the globe. This may be due to the fact that the serpent-worshipping people had spread from the Mediterranean coasts to the plains of India.

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. IX, no. 1 (January, 1942)

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.—*Dvīpāntara.* The Chinese equivalent of the term Dvīpāntara is Kouen-louen, applied to 'the Islands and the continent of the Southern Seas' in Indonesia. The word Dvīpāntara found in the *Raghuvaṃśa, Kathāsaritsāgara* and the Tamil *Cīvaparamparai* seems to have been used as a proper name signifying the Malaya peninsula, which was naturally referred to as 'the other island' across the sea by the Indians.

S. K. Saraswati.—*Temples at Pagan.*

Journal of Indian History, vol. XX, pt. 3 (December, 1941)

Dhirendra Nath Mookerjee.—*Chandragupta and Bhadrabāhu.* Candragupta who, according to Jaina tradition, abdicated his throne and retired to the South as a follower of the Jaina sage Bhadrabāhu, was the Gupta monarch Vikramāditya Candragupta and not the founder of the Mauryan empire. The sage whom he accompanied was also the Upāṅga Ācārya Bhadrabāhu II and not the Śrutakevalin Bhadrabāhu. The era starting from 58 B.C. was founded, as the writer of the paper believes, by this Candragupta. His retirement from the world therefore took place in the first century B.C.

Baijnath Puri.—*The Dates of the Kadphises Kings and their Relations with the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Western India.*

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H. K. Sherwani.—*Establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom.* The Reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Shāh.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1941, part 4

Hugo Buchthal.—*Indian Fables in Islamic Art.* The fables in the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra* were translated into Pehlvi in the 6th century of the Christian era. In the 8th century, they were rendered into Arabic in a somewhat Islamic garb, and the collection was called by the Muhammadans the 'Fables of Bidpai' or the 'Book of Kalila wa Dimna'. The vivid narratives being eminently suitable for portraiture the illustrated manuscripts of 'Fables of Bidpai' found favour in some Muhammadan courts of the Arabic world. The earliest Bidpai manuscript with the miniature painting dates from the 13th century and comes from the court of a prince of Northern Syria. The art of these miniatures betrays considerable Christian influence from the neighbouring Christian territories. In the succeeding periods of the Islamic Mongols, the manuscripts of the Persian translations of the fables also continued to be decorated with miniature paintings with this difference that they now began to be inspired by the artistic traditions of the East.

W. Ruben.—*The Purāṇic Line of Heroes.* A comparison of the Sambhava-parvan of the *Mahābhārata* on the one hand, and the Vaṃśaparvans of the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Brahma, Viṣṇu* and other Purāṇas on the other, as also a scrutiny of the accounts of Kṛṣṇa's activities given in these works show that even the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* is indebted in some respects to the *Brahmapurāṇa* which is regarded by the Purāṇas themselves as the Ādipurāṇa which again has borrowed from the *Harivaṃśa*, a supplement and an imitation of the *Mahābhārata*.

New Indian Antiquary, vol. V, no. 1 (April, 1942)

R. C. Hazra.—*The Devī-purāṇa.* The *Devīpurāṇa* is one of the important Upapurāṇas dealing with the exploits and worships of Devī. It contains information regarding literature on the worship of Śakti. The main body of the work is believed to have been composed in the latter half of the seventh century of the Christian era somewhere in the vicinity of Tamluk in Bengal. A list of verses quoted from the *Devīpurāṇa* in later works has been appended to the paper.

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Ibid., vol. V, no. 2 (May, 1942)

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI.—*The Dīpakalikā of Śūlapāṇi with special Reference to the Vyavahāra Section.* The *Dīpakalikā* is a commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasaṃhitā* by the Bengal scholiast Śūlapāṇi. The special features of the commentary have been pointed out and the available mss. of the work have been described in this note.

Poona Orientalist, vol. VI, nos. 3 & 4 (October 1941 & January 1942)

S. M. KATRE.—*On the Present Needs of Indian Linguistics.*

H. G. NARAHARI.—*On the Origin of the Upaniṣadic Thought.* Arguments are put forward in the paper to show that the philosophical ideas of the Upaniṣads were a logical development of the earlier speculations of the Brāhmaṇas. The Kṣatriya princes acquired proficiency in the Upaniṣadic thoughts by coming in contact with the erudite Brāhmaṇas who used to gather in the courts of those days for exhibiting their skill in philosophical discourses.

P. K. GODE.—*The Historical Background of the Cimaṇicarita.* This romantic poem in Sanskrit composed in the 17th century by a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita deals with the love of the daughter-in-law of Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān, a minister of rank in the Mughal court.

LUDWIK STERNBACH.—*Subjects of Law and Law of Family according to the Yājñavalkyadharmaśāstra.*

M. P. L. SASTRY.—*The Word Sarasvatī in Sanskrit Literature.* The different meanings of the word have been dealt with.

D. R. MANKAD.—*The Yugas.* The methods of the yuga calculations have been discussed and the number of years given to each yuga ascertained.

SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI.—*Tithiviveka of Śūlapāṇi.* Edited.

V. V. DIXIT.—*Relation of Epics to Brāhmaṇa Literature.* Continues.

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The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir

*The Precursors of Kalhaṇa**

The oldest references to the dynastic chronicles of Kashmir are to be found in the Introductory verses of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* ('The River of Kings'), the standard work on Ancient Kashmirian history, which was composed during the years 1148-49 to 1149-50 A.D. Kalhaṇa specifies (I, 13) as his source-books no less than eleven royal or dynastic chronicles, besides the ancient *Nīlamata* ("The Teachings of Nīla"), the most authoritative compendium of Kashmirian hieratic lore. Of these older chroniclers he mentions (I, 11-12; 13; 17-19) five by name. These are (1) Suvrata, the author of an evidently celebrated chronicle of his time, (2) Kṣemendra, the author of the *Nṛpāvali*, (3) Helārāja, distinguished as a *mahāvratin* (or Pāśupata Brahman), who composed the *Pārthivāvali*, (4) Padmamihira and (5) Chavillākara. Some of these older works attained extensive size for which they paid the penalty by becoming fragmentary (*chinnaḥ*) even in Kalhaṇa's time through condensation of their compositions by the above-named Suvrata (I, 11). It seems most probable that Helārāja whose work reached the astounding size of twelve thousand verses (I, 17) which is nearly one and a half times the volume of Kalhaṇa's own work, shared this fate. For Kalhaṇa (I, 18) quotes an opinion from him not directly, but indirectly through Padmamihira. Of the five authors just mentioned, three (Suvrata, Chavillākara and Padmamihira) are still names. As for Helārāja, Kielhorn long ago (*I.A.* III, p. 285, quoted by Stein, I, 17-18*n*) suggested his identification with the Kashmirian author of the same name, whose commentary on Bhartṛhari's grammatical work, the *Vākyapadīya*, was then known in fragments. The

* In the present article the references, unless otherwise stated, are to *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī translated with an Introduction, Commentary and Appendices* by M. A. Stein, vol. I, *Introduction, Books I-VII*, vol. II, Book VIII, *Notes, Geographical Memoir, Index, Maps*. Westminster, 1900.

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progress of research has since enabled us to throw further light upon Helārāja's identity and date. From the concluding verses of Helārāja's commentary called the *Prakīrṇaprakāśa* on the third *kāṇḍa* of the *Vākyapadīya* (*Vākyapadīya*, 1st *kāṇḍa*, ed. Charudeva Sastri, Lahore 1934, Skt. Preface p. 14; *Ibid.*, 3rd *kāṇḍa*, ed. K. Sambasiva Sastri, Trivandrum 1935, Preface, pp. 4-5), it appears that Helārāja was the son of Bhūtirāja and was born in the family of Lakṣmaṇa, minister of Muktāpīḍa, the illustrious king of Kashmir. As for his date, Helārāja has been plausibly held (Charudeva Sastri, *loc. cit.*) to be the brother of Indrarāja, son of Bhūtirāja, whom Abhinavagupta in his *Gītā* commentary acknowledged as his *Guru*. On this supposition Helārāja has been placed in the latter part of the 10th century A.D. (For a less plausible view ascribing Helārāja to latter half of the 7th century A.D., see K. Sambasiva Sastri, *loc. cit.*). The fifth author mentioned by Kalhaṇa, namely Kṣemendra, was long ago identified by Bühler (*Kashmir Report*, 1877, quoted by Stein, I, 13*n*) with the famous polyhistor of that name belonging to the 11th century, who is known chiefly for his epitomes of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* as well as of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and for his composition of the *Avadānacarita*. He also wrote a number of poems the *Samayamātṛkā*, the *Deśopadeśa* and the *Narmamālā* satirising various disreputable contemporary types and classes. In the last-named work especially (ed. Pandit Madhusudan Kaul, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies No. 40, Poona 1924), he draws a vivid picture of the rapacity, hypocrisy and superstition of the class of *Kāyasthas* (officials) holding administrative posts from the *Gṛhakṛtyādhipati* ('Head of the Department of Home Affairs') downwards.

As regards the character of these old chronicles, it may safely be concluded on general grounds that they were written in the style of the historical *kāvyas*. The beginnings of this literary *genre* were long ago traced by Bühler (*The Indian inscriptions and the antiquity of Indian artificial poetry*, *I.A.* vol. XLII, 1913) to the 2nd century A.D., and it was proved to be well-established in the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries. Kalhaṇa, indeed, while freely criticising his predecessors, nowhere claims to have introduced a new style of historical composition. These general arguments are supported by the particular terms in which Kalhaṇa speaks of the older authors. As we have seen, he refers to Helārāja's work as a composition of 12000 verses. He also expressly characterises Suvrata's and Kṣemendra's chronicles as the work of poets, while charging the former with pedantry.

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From one of Kalhaṇa's Introductory verses (I, 9-10), where with evident pride he contrasts his own work with that of his predecessors generally, it follows that many, if not most, of the older authors contented themselves with what the later writer thought to be the easy task of supplementing earlier contemporary records. In other words, these older chronicles partook of the nature of a continuous series of contemporary histories [A striking parallel is furnished, curiously enough, by Kalhaṇa's own chronicle which was continued in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja (from 1149-50 to 1459 A.D.) in the *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Śrīvara (from 1459 to 1486 A.D.), in the *Rājāvalipatākā* of Prājyabhaṭṭa (from 1486 to 1513-14 A.D.) and in the continuation of the last work by Śuka (from 1513-14 A.D. to 1587 A.D.). Cf. Stein, II, p. 373 and *n.*]. We shall see later that Kalhaṇa could avail himself of contemporary records only from the time of Avantivarman, founder of the Utpala dynasty, who reigned from 855-6 to 883 A.D. From this it follows that the oldest contemporary sources went back in Kalhaṇa's time to the 9th century A.D.

While there is no doubt that most of the older chroniclers were content to take up recent and contemporary history as their theme, Kalhaṇa's own references make it clear that some of them were exceptions to the general rule. Such was the case with Helārāja, Chavillākara and Padmamihira above-mentioned, who evidently sought to describe the ancient history of the land. From some slight allusions in Kalhaṇa's Introductory verses we can infer how they treated their subject. They evidently took over from their older sources a long succession of kings beginning with a traditional series of 52 kings whose names were forgotten and passing thence to a continuous series of named reigns. For their chronological beginning they apparently relied on a vague tradition that the earliest rulers were contemporaries of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. A traditional aggregate of reigns extending to 2268 years for the reign-periods of the 52 lost kings and their successors of the so-called Gonandīya dynasty and equally traditional reign-periods of individual kings from the last-named dynasty onwards were known to them. To Kalhaṇa (I, 17-18, *Ibid.*, 20) we owe the interesting information that some of the lost kings were recovered, evidently from extraneous sources, by his predecessors. In this way eight names (all of which will be shown later to be semi-mythical) were restored by Helārāja and five others beginning with the historical Aśoka and including the famous Kushan kings Kaniṣka and Huviṣka were recorded by Chavillākara. Not

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only did these older chroniclers attempt to fill up the gaps in the traditional list, but they sought also to introduce a fixed chronological starting-point. From Kalhaṇa (I, 48-49) we learn that some of them took the Great War of the Mahābhārata to have happened at the end of Dvāpara (and beginning of the Kali) Age. This led them by a process of simple calculation to reject the traditional aggregate of 2268 years. This last was rehabilitated by Kalhaṇa who placed the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira (and consequently that of the first Kashmirian ruler) on the authority of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* in the year 653 of the Kali Age.

In considering the value of the oldest chronicles, we have first to admit that they suffered from grave defects. Kalhaṇa himself in his Introduction (I, 12-13) charged Suvrata, no doubt justly, with pedantry and Kṣemendra with consistent carelessness. It is, again, needless to point out that these chronicles were more or less subject to the characteristic defects of the *Kāvya* style of composition—its conventional descriptions, its hazy chronology and topography, its tendency to idealise the heroes and so forth. Not to speak of the older authors, even in Kalhaṇa, the chronology of the ancient times, as we shall see later, is marked by patent absurdities. The history of this period, again, while embodying some genuine traditions, is clouded with a considerable mass of fiction. On the other hand, the old chroniclers of recent and contemporary times may well claim the credit of introducing a complete change in the methods of historical composition known till then. They introduced the use of precise dates and an ample wealth of authentic detail, in place of individual reign-periods and the vague traditions that had sufficed for the ancient times. That some of these old chronicles, at any rate, were not mere dry-as-dust compilations of royal and dynastic lists, we may infer from the satirical picture which Kṣemendra (as mentioned above) draws of the cruel and rapacious Kāyasthas in his *Narmamālā*. We may well believe that similar judgments of characters and types were a familiar feature in the early chronicles.

Kalhaṇa, the author of the Rājataraṅgiṇī

It was left to Kalhaṇa, son of the Kashmirian high official (*Kāshmīrika-mahāmātra*) Caṇpaka, to write the most valuable and comprehensive chronicle of Kashmir which put the works of his predecessors completely into the shade. Born in a Brahman family probably at the beginning of the twelfth century, Kalhaṇa acquired high proficiency in the composition of artificial

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poetry. He was well-versed, as his writings testify, not only in the two well-known historical *Kāvyas* preceding his time, the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa and the *Vikramāṅkacarita* of Bilhaṇa, but also in the Great Epics. The contemporary poet Maṅkha in his *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* (ed. Kāvyamālā Series, Ch. xxv, 78-80) written shortly before the composition of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* describes Kalyāṇa (first identified by Stein with Kalhaṇa) as a chief of poets, as one deemed worthy of matching the whole perfection of Bilhaṇa's muse, and lastly, as one who was indefatigable in his devotion to the stories of the *Mahābhārata* and so forth. (On Kalhaṇa's personality, training and early history see Stein, I, *Introd.* pp. 6-14, where full references are given). Kalhaṇa's interest in the history of his country was probably stimulated as much by his patriotism and personal tastes as by the example of his predecessors. In the Introductory part of his work (I, 25-43) he gives a glowing account of his native land reclaimed out of a lake by Prajāpati Kaśyapa and protected by Nīla, "the lord of all Nāgas," of its sacred river Vitastā, of the most famous of its springs, sacred lakes and other *tīrthas*. With pardonable pride he dwells on the multiplicity of its *tīrthas* ("In that country there is not a space as large as a grain of seasamum without a *tīrtha*"), on the spirituality of its people ("That country may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits, but not by forces of soldiers"), on the security and comfort of the bathing-places in its rivers, on the mildness of its climate even during summer, and lastly on its abundance of "learning, lofty houses, saffron, icy water and grapes, things that even in heaven are difficult to find." He concludes by extolling his country as the highest in an ascending series commencing with the earth, the northern region and the Himālayas. Along with Kalhaṇa's patriotism went what gives Kalhaṇa his unique position among his fellow poets, his unequalled interest in the archaeological and historical remains of his native land. In his work he mentions innumerable foundations of towns, temples, *vihāras, stūpas, agrahāras* and the like not only by the kings but also by the queens, ministers and high officials. To the same antiquarian interest we owe his luminous description of the shrines of Parihāsapura, Pravarapura and other ancient cities (On Parihāsapura see Stein, II, *App. F.*). Herein lies, as we shall see later, one of the distinctive excellences of Kalhaṇa as a historian.

It is characteristic of Kalhaṇa that he should introduce his work (I, 3-5) with a high praise of poets whose skill surpassing even the stream of nectar

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confers immortality on their own as well as others' "bodies of glory," whose creative power enables them to place past times before the eyes of men, whose divine intuition is manifested by their capacity to see in their minds' eye the existences they reveal to others. Elsewhere (I, 46-47) the author extols "that naturally sublime craft of poets without whose favour even mighty kings are not remembered", and he says that without true poets the world even in its dreams would not know of the mighty men of old and the universe would be blind. With some of the above sentiments we may compare the following verse from the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* (I, 5) of the rhetorician Rudraṭa (fl. *c.* 850 A.D.): "When in course of time the temples etc. erected by the kings are fallen into decay, then even the names (of the kings) would not remain if the kings had no good poets." An equally convincing proof of Kalhaṇa's title to rank as a great poet is his emphasis upon *rasa* ('sentiment') which, according to the rhetorician Udbhaṭa (fl. under king Jayāpīḍa in the latter part of the 8th century), is the soul of poetry (*Kāvyālaṃkārasaṃgraha*, VI. 17). In the course of his Introduction Kalhaṇa observes, (I, 23-24) that his work is rendered pleasant by under-currents of powerful sentiments, while its predominant sentiment is that of resignation (*śānta*). This last is justified by "the sudden appearance of living beings that lasts only for a moment". Kalhaṇa's narrative fully bears out the characteristics that he claims for his work. In one of his opening verses (I, 6) he seems to apologise, on the ground of length of his narrative, for the absence of amplified descriptions of different kinds as required by the rules of the *Alaṃkāra-śāstra*. Nevertheless, he not seldom exhibits, probably from regard for the literary precept and tradition, embellishments of style like *upamā, śleṣa* and *utprekṣā*, and he even indulges in conventional descriptions in the orthodox *Kāvya* fashion. It is doubtless in consonance with the sentiment of resignation that Kalhaṇa's work betrays a strong didactic tendency quite unlike the great majority of extant Sanskrit *Kāvyas*. In describing the tragic ends of kings especially in his last two books, he usually impresses upon his readers the lessons of transitoriness of human greatness and of inevitable retribution for offences against the moral law. In the true spirit of Dharmaśāstra and Nītiśāstra he frequently makes acts of statecraft and individual conduct the subject of general reflections. His composition is often interspersed with maxims of proverbial wisdom written in such elaborate metres and eloquent language and with such refinement of imagition that they have found their way into famous anthologies like Vallabha-

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deva's *Subhāṣitāvali*. (On the whole subject, see Stein, I, *Introd.* pp. 22-24 and 39, which give full references. Stein notes the significant fact that Kalhaṇa deals at exceptional length with those reigns which ended in pious renunciation or else had a tragic close).

Though the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* avowedly belongs, both in form and in substance, to the literature of artificial poetry, its merits as a historical composition are many and undoubted. In the course of his prefatory statements Kalhaṇa introduces us (I, 9-10 & 21) to his general aims in undertaking the composition of *"the River of Kings."* Most of his predecessors had been content with what seemed to him to be the easy task of supplementing the narratives of authors describing contemporary reigns. Kalhaṇa's aim was to attempt the more difficult task of giving a connected account where the narrative had become fragmentary. In the accounts of the older authors the statements of date and dominion of the kings were often doubtful. It was Kalhaṇa's task to correct the errors and restore certainty to the confused narrative. To test the success of these aims it will be well for us to begin with the remarkable estimate of his sources which Kalhaṇa gives (I, 11-15) at the beginning of his work. He first criticises by name two of his predecessors. Suvrata's poem, though a successful summary of older extensive chronicles and famous on that account, suffers from 'misplaced learning'. Kṣemendra's poem, though the work of a poet, has no single part free from mistakes. Next to these and other chronicles amounting to eleven in number, along with the *Nīlamata*, Kalhaṇa mentions (I, 15) four sources of his work as follows:—(1) inscriptions recording consecrations of temples (*pratiṣṭhāśāsanas*), (2) those recording grants of land etc. (*vāstuśāsanas*), (3) laudatory inscriptions (*praśastipaṭṭas*) and (4) written texts (*śāstras*). From the first source Kalhaṇa doubtless obtained much of his detailed and exact data about the foundations of temples and other sacred buildings, the consecration of images and so forth. The second source of which a specific instance is quoted in V. 397-98 doubtless accounts for his minute descriptions of *agrahāras* and similar endowments. Of the third source he quotes or refers to two specific instances (I, 344 and V, 352). From the fourth and last source Kalhaṇa must have obtained his numerous references to the Kashmirian authors and their works. In one specific instance (IV, 635-637) he quotes satirical verses written by aggrieved Brahmans against the tyrant Jayāpīḍa in their Kāvyas and works of grammar. Reference is made elsewhere (IV, 705) to a

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historical poem called the *Bhuvanābhyudaya* composed by the poet Śaṅkuka. Besides the above sources explicitly mentioned by Kalhaṇa, internal evidence proves him to have utilised the valuable information from coins and even from the living traditions and folk-lore. In his narrative of contemporary history he utilized the evidence of eye-witnesses like that of his father for the reign of King Harṣa. The above list of sources, it will be noticed, comprises both original authorities (in the shape of inscriptions, coins and monuments) and secondary authorities (in the nature of the chronicles and other literary works). From this exhaustive list we miss only the official documents, for the knowledge of foreign notices could not reasonably be expected of a chronicler in Kalhaṇa's position.

Though Kalhaṇa himself is hardly aware of this difference, his treatment of Kashmirian history naturally involves its division into two well-marked periods. These are, firstly, the ancient or the semi-legendary times (from the beginning to the end of the so-called Gonandīya dynasty), and secondly, the modern or the historical period (from the beginning of the Kārkoṭa dynasty to Kalhaṇa's own times).

I. Ancient Period

From the introductory verses of Kalhaṇa's work (I, 48-56) we may safely conclude that he took over from his predecessors the traditional synchronism of the first Kashmir rulers with the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas as the starting-point of his chronology. But instead of dating back the Bhārata War, as was done by some of his predecessors, to the end of Dvāpara and the beginning of the Kali age, he placed Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation on the authority of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* in 2526 *ante* Śaka era or 653 Kali era. This led him to vindicate against the older authors just quoted the aggregate of 2268 years for the reigns of the early kings from the beginning to the end of the Gonandīya dynasty (Book I). What great pains Kalhaṇa took to justify this traditional figure is proved by his elaborate calculations. The sum of 2268 years, he says (I, 50 ff.), added to the 653 years commencing from the beginning of the Kali era to Gonanda's accesssion and the 1328 years for the duration of all reigns described in the subsequent books (Books II-VIII) gives 4249 of the *Laukika* era or 1070 year of the *Śaka* era, which, as the chronicler tells us, is the exact date of commencement of his work (The above is based on

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Hultzsch's explanation *IA.*, xviii; pp. 99 ff. followed by Stein, I, *Introd.* p. 60, and I. 50*n*). Two other chronological aggregates mentioned by Kalhaṇa (I, 53-54) are 2330 years counted from the accession of Gonanda III to his own time and 1266 years for the reigns of the 52 lost kings. Sober criticism finds in the above little that is trustworthy. Against the supposed date of the first king Gonanda I Stein has indeed argued that it was "obtained by connecting a semi-mythical king of the Purāṇa tradition with a purely legendary event of the Great Indian Epic and its imaginary chronology." The aggregate of 2268 years has been objected to by the same scholar as it relates to a single dynasty of which 52 kings had already been 'lost' to early tradition and that of 2330 years has been held to be avowedly based on the rough calculation of the reign-periods from Gonanda III to Kalhaṇa's own date (Stein, I, *Introd.* p. 61). These arguments by themselves do not appear to us to be quite decisive. To take an analogous case, the date 753 B.C., with which Roman history begins, is connected with an almost similar legendary event in the life-time of an equally semi-mythical king. As for the second argument, there is nothing inherently improbable in the number and total duration of the most ancient reigns being handed down by genuine tradition while the names of the individual kings were forgotten. The third and last argument is disproved by the fact that Kalhaṇa's rough total of reigns described in Books II-VIII (viz. 1328 years) corresponds closely enough, according to Stein's own showing (*Introd.* p. 60*n*), to the actual figure (viz. 1329 years, 3 months and 28 days) obtained by adding up the recorded individual reign-periods. In other respects Stein's criticism of Kalhaṇa's early chronology appears to us to be just and proper. Kalhaṇa's figures for individual reigns give an average of more than forty-eight years for the first three dynasties and those of forty-eight years for the first, thirty-two for the second and fifty-nine for the third dynasty. The patent absurdity of such high figures is proved by contrast with the average of less than eleven years for the kings of the historical period (Books IV-VIII) and the maximum average of a little over sixteen years for a particular dynasty within the same period. The absurdity of Kalhaṇa's early chronology reaches its height in the case of King Raṇāditya (Book II) immediately preceding his first historical dynasty, who is credited with a reign of not less than three hundred years. In the case of six early kings of the ancient period, whose chronology is ascertainable from the independent evidence of inscriptions and coins, Stein's careful examina-

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tion has proved the discrepancy between the actual dates and Kalhaṇa's assumed dates to range from four or five to twelve centuries. The kings are Aśoka (3rd c. B.C.), Kaniṣka (1st c. A.D.), Mihirakula (first half of 6th c.), Toramāna (5th c. A.D.), Pravarasena II (6th c. A.D.) and two White Hun rulers Khiṅgila and Laṅkhaṇa (5th or 6th c. A.D.) for whom Kalhaṇa's dates would work up respectively to considerably *ante* 1182 B.C., shortly *ante* 1182 B.C., 704-634 B.C., end of 1st c. A.D., 250-214 B.C. and 209-222 A.D. (On this subject see Stein, I, *Introd.* pp. 62-66). Though the defects of Kalhaṇa's chronology for the so-called Gonandīya dynasties were long ago recognised by Wilson, Cunningham and Lassen, they unfortunately attempted to readjust Kalhaṇa's dates for throwing light on the early Indian chronology generally. It was the merit of Bühler to have shown the absolute futility of such readjustments. Following Bühler's authority, Stein has emphatically denied the claim of Kalhaṇa's early chronology to be the least helpful for solving the problems of general Indian history (See Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70).

Coming to Kalhaṇa's narrative of the ancient period, we find it hardly more satisfactory than his early chronology. Thus of the fifty-two 'lost' kings partially recovered by Kalhaṇa and his predecessors, the first four are admittedly borrowed by the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* from the *Nīlamata,* an authority on the ancient hieratic lore of the land, but claiming no historical character. The legend of the *Nīlamata* is narrated in the form of the answer of the sage Vaiśampāyana to his interlocutor King Janamejaya as to why no Kashmirian king took part in the Great War, although the land of Kashmir is "the chief of those situated on this earth". (See *Nīlamata or The Teachings of Nīla,* ed. K. de Vreese, Leiden 1936, pp. 1-3. The short and authentic recension of the text has a big lacuna which is supplied by the long and later recension *Ibid., App.,* pp. 113-14). The author's object is evidently to glorify the land of Kashmir and to connect its early history with the legends of the *Mahābhārata.* The blank of thirty-five 'lost' kings which Kalhaṇa leaves immediately after the four rulers of the Gonanda group is only important as showing how imaginative Muslim chroniclers of later times sought to fill it up with a curious jumble of Hindu and Muhammadan royal names. As regards the following eight royal names borrowed by Kalhaṇa from Helārāja the kings are remembered, apart from conventional descriptions, in connection with their supposed foundations of towns, temples, monasteries and the like and in one case with the

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construction of a canal. From the identity of initial consonants of the royal names and the buildings, it has been suspected that the connection of the kings with their foundations is based merely on popular tradition. The names themselves, for aught that we know, might be the creations of popular etymology. Of the next five kings of the 'lost' group taken over by Kalhaṇa from Chavillākara through Padmamihira, three at least Aśoka, Kaniṣka, and Huṣka (Huviṣka), are known from other sources as historical personages. Aśoka is, rightly enough, described as a pious Buddhist and some of his foundations of *stūpas* and *vihāras* are mentioned, we do not know on what authority, by the chronicler. As regards Kalhaṇa's story of Aśoka's benefactions to the Śaiva shrine of Vijayeśvara, and his building of Śivite temples, Stein argues that it is fully in keeping with Aśoka's known attitude towards other great religious systems. We, however, think that the chronicler's account of Aśoka's propitiation of Śiva Bhuteśa for obtaining a son for exterminating the *mlecchas* is inconsistent with the spirit of the *dharma* inculcated in his Edicts. Kalhaṇa's genealogy of Aśoka, as Stein has shown, is quite fanciful, for he makes the king the son of Śacīnara and the great-grandson of Śakuni. Evidently the Kashmirian tradition of the great Maurya had clouded his genuine history with a mass of fiction. Kalhaṇa's mention of the buildings of towns, *vihāras* and *caityas* by the 'Turuṣka' (really Kushan) kings and of the possession of the greater part of the land by the Buddhists in their time appears to be quite authentic. The date of these kings given in the year 150 of the *Nirvāṇa* era and the mention of Nāgārjuna as their Kashmirian contemporary have been held by Stein to have been borrowed directly from Buddhist traditions. Of the other kings of Chavillākara's list, such marvellous stories are told as clearly belong to the domain of legend and folk-lore. Among these is Jalauka, son of Aśoka, described as a great conqueror who cleared the land of *mlecchas* and, establishing settlers from the conquered countries, gave the kingdom its first complete system of administration. To this group also belongs Abhimanyu I in whose reign a pious Brahman is said through favour of Nīlaraja to have brought about the deliverance of the land from 'the intolerable plague of Bauddhas'—a legend borrowed entirely, as Stein has shown, from the story in the *Nīlamata* describing the deliverance of the kingdom from the plague of *Piśācas*.

When we turn to Kalhaṇa's first connected account (Book I, 185ff.) of a royal dynasty (that of Gonanda III), we find only two of them sufficiently attested by independent evidence. These are the Ephthalite or White Hun

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rulers Mihirakula (known from his inscriptions and coins as well as from notices of Chinese pilgrims) and Khiṅkhila-Narendrāditya (identified with the *Deva Śāhi Khiṅgila* of a unique silver coin). Kalhaṇa's picturesque stories of the cruelties of Mihirakula, who is described as a second God of Death, as a royal *Vetāla* and as a slayer of three crores of human beings, are in full accord with the versions of the Chinese pilgrims. The story of Mihirakula's expedition to Ceylon, according to Stein, is probably a reminiscence of the king's distant wars. A "tenacious popular tradition" quoted by the chronicler attributes to Mihirakula after all his cruelties in *Āryadeśa* the restoration in Kashmir of pious observances which had greatly suffered through barbarian irruptions. The same tradition credits him with grant of lands to Gandhāra Brahmans as his atonement at the time of his voluntary self-immolation. Stein thinks the last tradition to have a truly historical basis in view of Mihirakula's known close connection with Gandhāra. The story of the king's foundation of Śivite shrines is in full accord with the Śaiva emblems and legends of his coins. On the other hand, Kalhaṇa has certainly been guilty, as we shall show presently, of a grave chronological and genealogical confusion by placing Mihirakula centuries before Toramāṇa above mentioned undoubtedly to be identified with the well-known White Hun ruler who ruled North-west India towards the close of the 5th century. [For a full critical account of the kings of Book I, see Stein, I, *Introd.* pp. 72-80 and the references there given].

In Kalhaṇa's narrative of the dynasties of his Books II and III the marvellous element still preponderates, though we have undoubted fragments of genuine historical tradition mixed up with the same. We read of Saṃdhimitra-Āryadeva, who as a king's minister was first put to death by his wicked master and was miraculously restored to life and who afterwards reigned as an ascetic on the throne till his voluntary abdication. Of another king, Meghavāhana, such marvellous stories are told that the chronicler confesses (III, 94) his embarrassment in recording "acts which cannot be believed by the common people." These include a *digvijaya* in course of which the king said to have received the submission of Vibhīṣaṇa, the demon-king of Ceylon! "While he ruled", we are told (III, 81) with characteristic poetical hyperbole, "animals were not killed by wicked creatures, neither in the waters by otters and other (acquatic animals), nor in the thickets by lions and other (wild beasts), nor in the air by eagles and other (birds of prey)". We are next introduced to a Prince Toramāṇa described as an unlucky pretender

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who spent his whole life in prison for his presumption in issuing coins during the lifetime of his brother king Hiraṇya. But this Toramāṇa, to judge from his abundant issue of copper coins bearing for the first time the distinctive type of Hindu Kashmirian coinage, was undoubtedly a powerful conqueror. As just mentioned, he was evidently identical with the famous Ephthalite ruler of that name who is known to have ruled North-Western India at the end of the 5th century. We are next told of a poet Mātṛgupta who through romantic devotion won the favour of the celebrated Harṣa Vikramāditya, ruler of Ujjayinī and conqueror of the Śakas, and who was afterwards sent by his master to rule Kashmir. Quotations from a poet Mātṛgupta occur in the works of Kashmirian authors like the *Aucityavicāracarcā* of Kṣemendra and the *Subhāṣitāvali* of Vallabhadeva. But no independent evidence exists of his rule in Kashmir. Pravarasena, alleged to be the son of Toramāṇa, is credited by Kalhaṇa with a successful expedition as far as the Eastern Ocean on the one side and Surāṣṭra on the Western Ocean on the other. On the other hand, Stein has thought Kalhaṇa's pointed reference to Kashmir being 'subject to Harṣa and other foreign kings' at the beginning of this period to be a clear indication of foreign conquest. Again, the several traditions relating to the pious foundations of several kings and queens of this period appear to have a historical character. As Stein points out, one of these foundations, the *Amṛtabhavana Vihāra*, said to have been built for foreign Bhikṣus by Amṛtaprabhā, queen of the semi-mythical Meghavāhana, is mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim, Ou-k'ong. Equally genuine seems to be the tradition of Mātṛgupta's patronage of the poet Meṇṭha, author of the lost poem the *Hayagrīvabadha*. Two other kings of Kalhaṇa's list are known from the independent evidence of coins. The rare gold and silver coins of Pravarasena II show a close connection on the one hand with the Kashmirian Toramāṇa coins, and on the other hand with the coinage of the Kidāra Kushans, the successors of the Great Kushans in Gandhāra after the 5th century. The other king Laḥkhaṇa-Narendrāditya is probably identical with *Rājā Laḥkhaṇa Udayāditya* of a unique silver coin. Lastly, we have to note with Stein that Kalhaṇa's account of the building of Pravarapura by Pravarasena II as his new capital is attested not only by the surviving tradition, but also by the evidence of the Chinese annals and the pilgrim Hiuen T'sang. [For the complete critical account of the kings of Books II-III, see Stein, I, *Introduction*, pp. 80-87 and the references there given].

(*To be continued*)

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The Manvantara

In this paper the system of Manvantaras, as propounded in the Purāṇas, will be discussed. According to the Purāṇas, there are 14 manvantaras in a day of Brahmā. Each manvantara is given a name and is equal to caturyuga $\times 71 = 43{,}200{,}00 \times 71 = 30{,}67{,}200{,}00$ mānava years.

A comparative study of the Purāṇas raises many points of doubt and irrelevancy. We shall first consider the names of the manvantaras and then the number of years allotted to a manvantara.

Names

All the Purāṇas are unanimous in naming the first eight manvantaras thus: स्वायम्भुव, स्वारोचिष, औत्तम, तामस, रैवत, चाक्षुष, वैवस्वत सावर्णि। There is some divergence seen in the names of the next six manvantaras in the various Purāṇas. I shall, therefore, quote the relevant texts from the Purāṇas.

Brahma Purāṇa

Two passages are quoted from this Purāṇa, for both show some divergence from each other.

(1)—(5th adhyāya)

स्वायम्भुवो मनुः पूर्वं मनुः स्वारोचिषस्तथा ।
उत्तमस्तामसश्चैव रैवतश्चाक्षुषस्तथा ॥४॥
वैवस्वतश्च भो विप्राः सांप्रतं मनुरुच्यते ।
सावर्णिश्च मनुस्तद्वद्दैभ्यो रौच्यस्तथैव च ॥५॥
तथैव मेरुसावर्ण्यश्चत्वारो मनवः स्मृताः ॥

(2)—(5th adhyāya)

सावर्णा मनवो विप्राः पञ्च तांश्च निबोधत ।
एको वैवस्वतस्तेषां चत्वारस्तु प्रजापतेः ॥४६॥
परमेष्ठिसुता विप्रा मेरुसावर्ण्यतां गताः ।
दक्षस्यैते हि दौहित्राः प्रियायास्तनया नृपाः ॥५०॥
महता तपसा युक्ता मेरुपृष्ठे महौजसः ।
रुचेः प्रजापतेः पुत्रो रौच्यो नाम मनुः स्मृतः ॥५१॥
भूत्यां चोत्पादितो देव्यां भौत्यो नाम रुचेः सुतः ।
अनागताश्च सप्तैते कल्पेऽस्मिन्मनवः स्मृताः ॥५२॥

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Mārkaṇḍeya (53rd adhyāya)

षडेते मनवोऽतीतास्तथा वैवस्वतेऽधुना ॥७॥
सावर्णिः पञ्च रौच्याश्च भौत्याश्चागामिनस्त्वमी ॥

Harivaṃśa (8th adhyāya)

वैवस्वतश्च कौरव्य साम्प्रतो मनुरुच्यते ।
सावर्णिश्च मनुस्तात भौत्यो रौच्यस्तथैव च ॥५॥
तथैव मेरुसावर्णाश्चत्वारो मनवः स्मृताः

Nāradīya (Pūrvārdha, 40th)

वैवस्वतो मनुश्चैव सूर्यसावर्णिरष्टमः ।
नवमो दक्षसावर्णिः सर्वदेवहिते रतः ॥२१॥
दशमो ब्रह्मसावर्णिर्धर्मसावर्णिकस्ततः ।
ततस्तु रुद्रसावर्णिः रोच्यो मनुस्ततः स्मृतः ॥२२
भौत्यश्चतुर्दशः प्रोक्त एते हि मनवः स्मृताः ।

Kalki (3, 5)

नवमो दक्षसावर्णिर्ब्रह्मसावर्णिकस्ततः ।
दशमो धर्मसावर्णिरेकादशः स उच्यते ॥६॥
रुद्रसावर्णिकस्तत्र मनुर्वै द्वादशः स्मृतः ।
त्रयोदशो मनुर्वेदसावर्णिर्लोकविश्रुतः ॥१०॥
चतुर्दशेन्द्रसावर्णिरेते तव विभूतयः ।

Brahmavaivarta (2, 54)

सावर्णिः सूर्यतनयो वैष्णवो मनुरष्टमः ॥६१॥
नवमो दक्षसावर्णिर्विष्णुव्रतपरायणः ।
दशमो ब्रह्मसावर्णिर्ब्रह्मज्ञानविशारदः ॥६२॥
ततश्च धर्मसावर्णिर्मनुरेकादशः स्मृतः ।
धर्मिष्ठश्च वरिष्ठश्च वैष्णवस्तत्परः स्मृतः ॥६३॥
ज्ञानी च रुद्रसावर्णिर्मनुश्च द्वादशः स्मृतः ।
धर्मात्मा देवसावर्णिर्मनुरेवं त्रयोदशः ॥६४॥
चतुर्दशो महाज्ञानी चन्द्रसावर्णिरेव च ।

Liṅga (7th adhyāya, पूर्वार्द्ध)

It gives the following: स्वायम्भुव, स्वारोचिष, औत्तम, तामस, रैवत, चाक्षुष, वैवस्वत, सावर्णि, धर्मसावर्णि, पिशंग, अपिशंगाभ, शबल, वर्णक, औकारान्त अकाराद्य ।

Moreover, वर्णतो मनवः—श्वेत, पाण्डु, रक्त, ताम्र, पीत, कपिल, कृष्ण, श्याम, धूम्र, सुधूम्र, अपिशंग, पिशंग, शबल, कालंधुर ।

Let us tabulate the traditions found in these passages.

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Table I

Manu	*Br.*	*Hr.*	*Mr.*	*Nd.*	*Gr.*	*Sv.*	*Kl.*	*BrV.*	*Lg.*	*Vn.*
9th	मेरुसा०	मेरुसा०	सावर्णि	दक्षसा०	दक्षसा०	मेरुसा०	दक्षसा०	दक्षसा०	धर्मसा०	दक्षस
10th	,,	,,	,,	ब्रह्मसा०	धर्मपुत्र	,,	ब्रह्मसा०	ब्रह्मसा०	पिशंग	ब्रह्मसा०
11th	,,	,,	,,	धर्मसा०	रुद्रपुत्र	,,	धर्मसा०	धर्मसा०	अपिशं०	धर्मसा०
12th	,,	,,	,,	रुद्रसा०	दक्षपुत्र	,,	रुद्रसा०	रुद्रसा०	शबल	रुद्रसा०
13th	रौच्य	रौच्य	रौच्य	रौच्य	रौच्य	रौच्य	वेदसा०	देवसा०	वर्णक	रौच्य
14th	भौत्य	भौत्य	भौत्य	भौत्य	भौत्य	भौत्य	इन्द्रसा०	चन्द्रसा०	अकारान्त	भौत्य
									अकाराद्य	

From the above table it will be clear that *Br.*, *Mr.*, *Hr.*, *Sv.*, *Vn.* and *Nd.* represent one tradition which calls the 8th to 12th Manus as Sāvarṇi Manus. Out of these, 8th is called by all Sūrya Sāvarṇi. *Mr.* calls the five merely Sāvarṇi, while *Br.*, *Hr.*, and *Sv.*, call the four Manus from the 9th to 12th as Meru Sāvarṇi. The tradition preserved by *Gr.*, *BrV.*, *Kl.*, and *Nd.* is distinct. They prefix Dakṣa etc. to Sāvarṇi. *BrV.* and *Kl.* are alone in calling the 13th and the 14th Manus as Deva Sāvarṇi and Candra Sāvarṇi or as Veda Sāvarṇi and Indra Sāvarṇi, while all others call them Raucya and Bhautya. Liṅga, once again, differs in naming the 10th to 14th Manus. Liṅga has also another group of Manus, whom it introduces as 'varṇato manavaḥ'; and evidently its Piṣaṅga etc. are purely later inventions. Thus we see that this table shows a good deal of divergence in naming the last six Manus.

Moreover it will be observed that the names of the first seven Manus are quite distinct in their formation from the names of the last seven Manus. Names of the first seven Manus are, on the face of them, patronymics, e.g. Vaivasvata Manu is the son of Vivasvata, Cākṣuṣa is the son of Cakṣuṣ and so on.

The last seven names are not of this type. Five of them are named after Sāvarṇi Vaivasvata Manu, each one being taken as the son of some god, such a process being carried to the furthest limit by *BrV.* and *Kl.*

If we are to draw any conclusion from this, we can say that the first seven names represent some old tradition, while the last seven are late in conception. There is some evidence to show that the first seven Manus are historical, while the last seven were added for one reason or another.

The first seven Manus

My study of Purāṇas has led me to believe that Manvantara originally was not a unit of astronomical time-measure. It was merely the period

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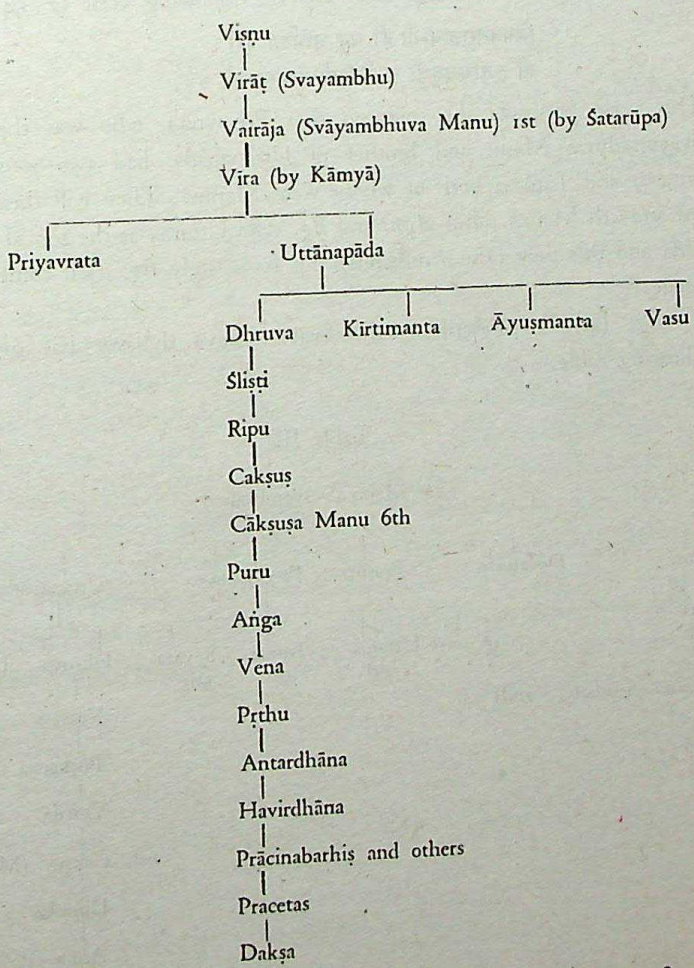
from one Manu to another Manu. And Manu in early days was not a proper name of a king but a generic term for the kings of a particular dynasty as Caesar, Kaiser, Gaekwar etc. Some evidence to that effect we get from the Purāṇas. In the Purāṇas there are various genealogies and most of them start with what may be called the anti-diluvian dynasties or with what the Purāṇas call Svāyambhuva Vaṃśa. This dynasty is given in *Brahma* (3rd) thus:

Table II



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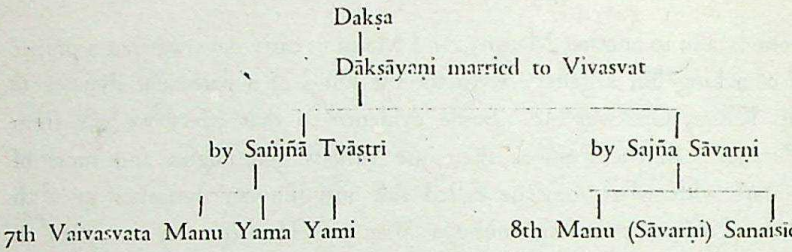


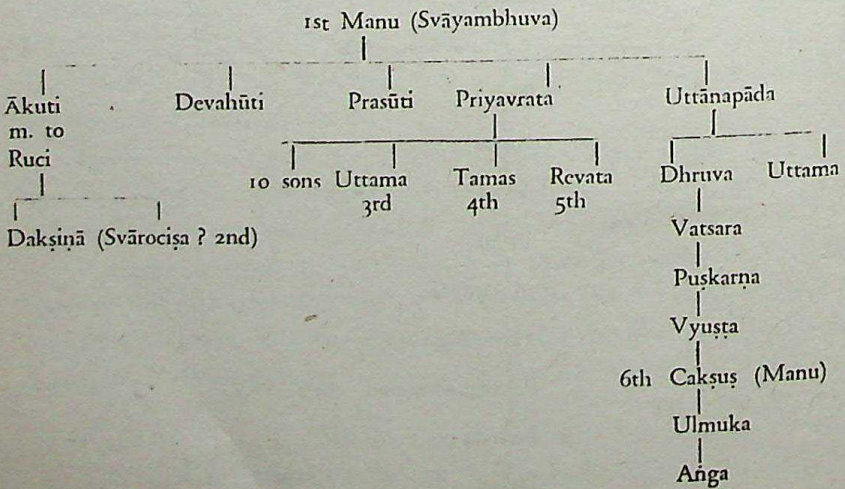
This table clearly shows the pedigree of the 1st, 6th, 7th and 8th Manus. Most of the Purāṇas have this identical table for the anti-diluvian dynasty. But we get information about the other Manus from two late Purāṇas viz., *BrV.* and *Bg. BrV.* has the following verse (2, 54):

प्रियव्रतसुतावन्यौ द्वौ मनू धर्मिणां वरौ ।
तौ तृतीयचतुर्थौ च वैष्णवौ तामसोत्तमौ ॥

This verse preserves the tradition that Priyavrata, who was the son of Svāyambhuva Manu and brother of Uttānapāda, had two sons named Uttama and Tāmasa both of whom were Manus. They will then be our 3rd and 4th Manus. But *Agni* and *Bg.* state Uttama as the son of Uttānapāda and this may raise a difficulty, but fortunately *Bg.* itself comes to our rescue.

Bg. (4th) in describing the Svāyambhuva dynasty has given the following table.

Table III



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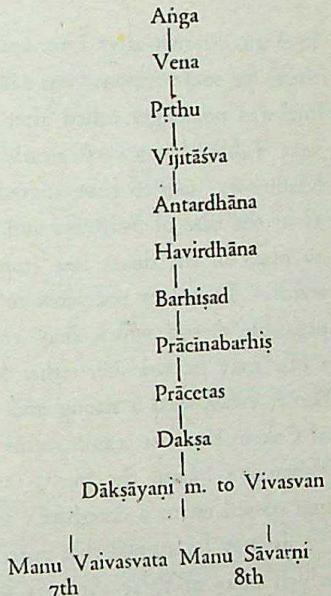

This table furnishes us with some important information. It shows that 2nd Manu Svārociṣa was most probably a *dauhitra* of Svāyambhuva and that the 3rd, 4th and 5th Manus viz. Uttama, Tamas and Revata were the *pautras* of Svāyambhūva. Thus the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Manus were grandsons of the 1st Manu. Moreover this shows that though Uttānapāda had a son named Uttama, who remained unmarried[1] and therefore his line did not continue. But Priyavrata also had a son named Uttama. He had two other sons also, and the lines of all these three sons continued i.e. all these three sons became the progenitors of new lines. This seems to be one of the implications of Manu. Thus we can say that Svāyambhuva Manu was the original Manu. From him, apart from his own direct line through Uttānapāda to Vaivasvata, four collateral lines started, one from each of the four Manus Svārociṣa, Uttama, Tamas, and Revata. His own direct

1 See *Bg.*, V, 1 which describes the life of Priyavrata. It is said there that Priyavrata, over and above having 10 sons Agnīdhra etc., had three more sons. See

अन्यस्यामपि जायायां त्रयः पुत्रा आसन् उत्तमस्तामसो रैवत इति मन्वन्तराधिपः ॥२८॥

cf. Bg., IV, 9

उत्तमस्त्वकृतोद्वाहो मृगयायां बलीयसा ।
हृतः पुण्यजनेनाद्रौ तन्माताऽस्य गतिं गता ॥

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line was known after him upto Cakṣuṣ, who was his 6th descendant and then, for some reasons, was called after Cakṣuṣ. The reason why the direct line was no longer called after Svāyambhuva is not clear. But the Bhāgavata Table shows very clearly that a Manvantara (or a separate line of Manu) was said to have started when a line started from a daughter's son as in the case of Svārociṣa and Vaivasvata Manus, or from a son who had no place in the direct line from Svāyambhuva through Uttānapāda downwards. This does not seem to have been the case with Cakṣuṣ. Another plausible reason which may entitle a king to be taken as the starter of a line may be that he, either leaving or even without leaving his original home, established a strong and prosperous kingdom elsewhere. In the case of Cakṣuṣ this last reason seems to be more plausible to me. In the case of Vaivasvata Manu the line is said to have started from him because the line passed on to a daughter's son.

It may be argued that apart from the late *Bg.* there is no other Purāṇa which talks of these three as sons of Priyavrata. It may well have been fabricated by Bhāgavatakāra. But it seems that the tradition of these three belonging to Priyavrata dynasty was already known to other Purāṇas. We have seen how *BrV.* records that 3rd and 4th Manus were the sons of Priyavrata though it does not know that Revata was a son of Priyavrata.

The late *Mārkaṇḍeya* (72nd) has a story that there was a king named Vikramaśīla in the Priyavrata dynasty. This Vikramaśīla had a son named Durgaṇa who had married a sage's daughter named Revatī by whom he had a son who became Raivata Manu. Though the Purāṇa is very late and very unreliable in genealogical matters, this story may lend support to the tradition that Revata belonged to Priyavrata dynasty.

Thus independently of *Bg.*, we have two other Purāṇas preserving a tradition that these three belonged to Priyavrata dynasty.

According to this, Manvantara may mean a line started from a particular Manu or in other words a new dynasty. Anti-diluvian genealogies preserved in our Purāṇas, show that after the first line started from Svāyambhuva Manu (who may have been called Manu for the first time), five collateral lines ran in his family. One his own, which running through Uttānapāda changed its name on reaching Cakṣuṣ or the 7th generation. Second line started from Svārociṣa, who was Svāyambhuva's daughter's son and thus the line passed on to another family. Third, fourth and fifth lines started from the sons of Priyavrata viz. Uttama, Tamas and Revata

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who/ were in a sub-branch of the main Svāyambhuva line leading upto Vaivasvata. This direct line changed its name from Cakṣuṣ, the 6th Manu and again from Vaivasvata the 7th Manu. Cakṣuṣ was the 7th from Svāyambhuva, and Vaivasvata 16th or 17th. According to *Brahma* table it would seem that this anti-diluvian period was divided into two equal halves at Cakṣuṣ, who seems to have flourished just at the middle of the period.

It will be seen that I have treated these Purāṇic anti-diluvian genealogies as historical, but I am, for the present, not concerned with their trustworthiness or otherwise. For the solution of Purāṇic problem of Manvantara, I am simply submitting Purāṇic evidence. And Purāṇas at any rate, treat these genealogies as historical.

The eighth Manu

Thus we find that the first seven Manus were some kings who started new dynastic lines. Sāvarṇi Manu, the 8th Manu, also would be taken as a Manu, for though he was the son of Vivasvat, he was born of an illegal wife. Moreover, so far as Indian Aryans were concerned the direct line was from Svāyambhuva to Vaivasvata and from Vaivasvata to Sumitra (the last of the Aikṣvākus). Thus too, Sāvarṇi would form a branch line. It would seem that Sāvarṇi also had a line of descendants and therefore was called a Manu. But for the Indian Aryans, Vaivasvata Manu was the real Manu and as from him the direct line leading upto Sumitra descended, he was taken as 'sāmprata' Manu by those purāṇakāras who, later on tried to re-adjust Purāṇic genealogies, chronologies etc. Thus, though there were eight real Manus (i.e. the starters of dynasties) in all, Indians were concerned directly with the 7th (and 6th and 1st before him). They were only indirectly concerned with the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 8th Manus, and therefore their dynasties are imperfectly preserved in the Indian Purāṇas.

The last six Manus

The last six Manus, as I have already suggested, were later creations of the purāṇakāras. The very explanation of the first eight Manus offered by me above, precludes these last six from being genuine Manus. They are not seen in any genealogy either of Solar line or of Lunar line. Their names are enough testimony that they are coined after the name of the 8th Manu. As the 8th was called

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Vivasvata-Sāvarṇi and as Vivasvat, once a historical personage, was later taken to be the Sun-god, it was very easy to find out as many Sāvarṇis as needed. And thus a Dakṣa Sāvarṇi, a Rudra Sāvarṇi etc., were obtained. However, there seems to be some historicity in the name of Meru Sāvarṇi, which after all, is the name of four Manus as attested by the old Purāṇas. But its significance I shall discuss on some future occasion. So also I shall discuss in future, the possible motives which may have actuated the later purāṇakāras to bring out these last six Manus.

All this brings out the fact that a Manu was that king who gave rise to an independent and reputed dynasty. Thus Manvantara (Manu + antara) may mean the whole length of a Manu's dynasty i.e. the period from a Manu to his last direct descendant.[2] But Manu was a generic title for a king and therefore Manvantara may also mean the period between one king and another i.e. the period between any two Manus.

Thus Manu has two senses: (1) a king who starts a new dynasty (2) a generic title for a king of a particular dynasty. Manvantara also has two corresponding senses: (1) the whole length of the dynasty of a Manu i.e. the period from the founder to the last of his descendants or to that descedant in whose time the computation may be made, (2) period between one king and another i.e. one ruling generation or one ruling unit.

Number of years

Keeping the above conclusions before our mind, let us, now, consider the number of years assigned to a Manvantara in the Purāṇas.

The usual number of years for a Manvantara is given as caturyuga × 71 i.e. 43,20,000 × 71 mānava years or 12,000 × 71 = 85,20,000 divya years. But on comparing various Purāṇic texts, we get conflicting statements about the number of years for a Manvantara. I shall note down all such texts as show unusual points of difference about the number of years for a Manvantara.

Mārkaṇḍeya (46th):

चतुर्युगानां संख्याता साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः ।
मन्वन्तरं तस्य संख्या मानुषाब्दैर्निबोधत ॥३४॥
त्रिंशत् कोट्यस्तु संपूर्णाः संख्याताः संख्यया द्विज ।
सप्तषष्टिस्तथान्यानि नियुतानि च संख्यया ॥३५॥

2 Therefore in expressions Svāyambhuva Manvantara, Cākṣuṣa Manvantara etc. Manvantara would be equivalnt to Vaṃśa. Just as Pradyotavaṃśa will mean Pradyota dynasty, so Svāyambhuva Manvantara will mean Svāyambhuva dynasty.

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विंशतिश्च सहस्राणि कालोऽयं साधिकं विना ।
एतन्मन्वन्तरं प्रोक्तं दिव्यैर्वर्षैर्निबोधत ॥३६॥
अष्टौ वर्षसहस्राणि दिव्यया संख्यया युतम् ।
द्विपञ्चाशत्तथान्यानि सहस्राण्यधिकानि तु ॥३७॥

This gives us the usual computation which is

(1) Manvantara = 30,67,20,000 mānava years = 8,52,000 divya years

It should be noted that the first quarter of the 37th verse has a corrupt reading. It is not 'aṣṭau varṣasahasrāṇi' but 'aṣṭau śatasahasrāṇi' as is shown by Adhyāya 53, verse 5 of this very Purāṇa.

Matsya (142nd)

(1) एषा चतुर्युगाख्या तु साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः ।
कृतत्रेतादियुक्ता सा मनोरन्तरमुच्यते ॥२९॥
मन्वन्तरस्य संख्या तु मानुषेण निबोधत ।
एकत्रिंशत्तथा कोट्यः संख्याता संख्यया द्विजैः ॥३०॥
तथा शतसहस्राणि दश चान्यानि भागशः ।
सहस्राणि तु द्वात्रिंशच्छतान्यष्टाधिकानि च ॥३१॥
अशीतिश्चैव वर्षाणि मासाश्चैवाधिकास्तु षट् ।
मन्वन्तरस्य संख्यैषा मानुषेण प्रकीर्तिता ॥३२॥

(2) दिव्येन च प्रमाणेन प्रवक्ष्याम्यन्तरं मनोः ।
सहस्राणां शतान्याहुः स च वै परिसंख्यया ॥३३॥
चत्वारिंशत्सहस्राणि मनोरन्तरमुच्यते ॥

In these verses, the Purāṇa gives 31,10,32,880—6 months by mānava computation and 1,40,000 by divya computation. That means that both these may represent the same number. Now in order to equate the mānava with the divya computation, let us turn divya years into mānava years.

1,40,000 × 360 = 5,04,00,000 mānava years.

But this figure does not tally with the first mānava figure. Therefore we have, here, two distinct views about Manvantara computation.

(1) Manvantara = 31,10,32,880—6 months (mānava)
(2) ,, = 5,04,00,000 mānava years

Vāyu (7th)

(1) अष्टाविंशतिरेवैताः कोट्यस्तु सुकृतात्मनाम् ।
मन्वन्तरे तथैकस्मिंश्चतुर्दशसु वै तथा ॥१६॥
त्रीणि कोटिशतान्यासन्कोट्यो द्विनवतिस्तथा ।
अष्टाधिकाः सप्तशताः सहस्राणां स्मृताः पुरा ॥१७॥

(2) (21st) मन्वन्तराणां सप्तानां कालसंख्यां यथाक्रमम् ।
प्रवक्ष्यामि समासेन ब्रुवतो मे निबोधत ॥१४॥

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कोटीनां द्वि सहस्रे वै अष्टौ कोटिशतानि च ।
द्विषष्टिश्च तथा कोट्यो नियुतानि च सप्ततिः ॥१५॥
कल्पार्धस्य तु संख्यायामेतत्सर्वमुदाहृतम् ।
पूर्वोक्तौ च गुणच्छेदौ वर्षाग्रं लब्धमादिशेत् ॥१६॥
शतं चैव तु कोटीनां कोटीनामष्टसप्ततिः ।
द्वे च शतसहस्रे तु नवतिर्नियुतानि च ॥१७॥
मानुषेण प्रमाणेन यावद्वैवस्वतान्तरम् ।
एष कल्पस्तु विज्ञेयः कल्पार्धद्विगुणीकृतः ॥१८॥
अनागतानां सप्तानामेतदेव यथाक्रमम् ।
प्रमाणं कालसंख्याया विज्ञेयं मतमैश्वरम् ॥१९॥
नियुतान्यष्टपञ्चाशत्तथाशीतिशतानि च ।
चतुरशीतिश्चान्यानि प्रयुतानि प्रमाणतः ॥२०॥
एतत्कालस्य विज्ञेयं वर्षाग्रं तु प्रमाणतः।
एष मन्वन्तरे तेषां मानुषन्तिः प्रकीर्तितः ॥२१॥

Here, in the first view, one manvantara is given as 28,00,00,000 years and 14 manvantaras as 3,92,07,08,000 years. But if we reduce the latter figure by dividing it by 14 (3920708000 ÷ 14) we get 280050571 3/7 thus showing a difference of 50571 3/7 years between the two figures. Thus we get two distinct views here.

In the second passage, which is taken from the 21st adhyāya, there seem to be three views. According to the first view half a kalpa i.e. 7 manvantaras have 28627000000 years. Therefore dividing it by 7 we get, for one manvantara (28627000000 ÷ 7) = 4089571428 4/7 years. The second view gives 1789200000 years for 7 manvantaras, the words 'yāvadvaivasvatāntaram' suggesting that 7 manvantaras from Svāyambhuva to Vaivasvata are meant. Reducing this figure to one manvantara, we get (1789200000 ÷ 7) = 255600000 years. The third view professes to give 6648000 years for the seven future manvantaras. This, if true, looks to be divya computation, for under no account can we have only 6648000 mānava years for the next seven manvantaras, for which the same number of years as the past seven manvantaras is prescribed in verse number 19th above. If we take these to be divya figures we may get for one manvantara (6648000 ÷ 7) = 949714 2/7 divya years and again multiplying it by 360 (949714 2/7 × 360) = 34189102·9 years.

Thus here we get five different views:

(1) Manvantara = 280000000 mānava years
(2) ,, = 280050571·4 ,, ,,

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(3) ,, = 4089571428·5 mānava years
(4) ,, = 255600000 ,, ,,
(5) ,, = 341897102·9 ,, ,,

Narasiṃha (2nd)

चतुर्युगानां संख्या च साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः ॥१७॥
मन्वन्तरं मनोः कालः शक्रादीनामपि द्विज ।
अष्टौ वर्षसहस्राणि दिव्यया संख्यया स्मृतः ॥१८॥
द्विपञ्चाशत्तथान्यानि सप्त चान्यानि वै मुने ।
विंशतिश्च सहस्राणि कालोऽयं साधिकः स्मृतः ॥१९॥

In these verses manvantara is taken as 879000 divya years and the computation is characterised as 'sādhika'. This will give $879000 \times 360 = 31644000$ mānava years, for one manvantara.

Harivaṃśa (8th)

कृतं त्रेता द्वापरं च कलिश्चैव चतुर्युगी ।
युजं तदेकसप्तत्या गणितं नृपसत्तम ॥१७॥
मन्वन्तरमिति प्रोक्तं संख्यानार्थविशारदैः ।
अयनं चापि तत्प्रोक्तं द्वेऽयने दक्षिणोत्तरे ॥
मनुः प्रलीयते यत्र समाप्ते चायने प्रभोः ॥१८॥

Here manvantara which is taken as caturyuga $\times 71$ is called to be the same as Manu's *ayana*. Now in *Harivaṃśa* there is a special theory about Manu's day etc., which is as under (8th adhyāya):

10 divya years = 1 manu's ahorātra
10 Manu's ahorātras = 1 manupakṣa
10 manupakṣas = 1 manumāsa
12 manumāsas = 1 manūrtu
3 manūrtus = 1 manu-ayana
2 manu-ayanas = 1 manu year

Taking divya year to be equal to 360 mānava years, this will mean $360 \times 10 \times 10 \times 10 \times 12 \times 3 = 1,29,60,000$ i.e. in one Manu-ayana we shall get 12960000 mānava years and the same will be the number of years for a manvantara.

Brahma (5th)

युगानि सप्ततिस्तानि साग्राणि कथितानि च ॥५४॥
कृतत्रेतादियुक्तानि मनोरन्तरमुच्यते ।
चतुर्दशैते मनवः कथिताः कीर्तिवर्धनाः ॥५५॥

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Here a manvantara is called to be caturyuga × 70 + sāgra (which is the same as sādhika of others) i.e. 4320000 × 70 = 302400000 years.

Brahmavaivarta (5th)

सत्यं त्रेता द्वापरं च कलिश्चेति चतुर्युगम् ।
त्रिंशतैश्च षष्ट्यधिकैर्युगैर्दिव्यं युगं स्मृतम् ॥५॥
मन्वन्तरं तु दिव्यानां युगानामेकसप्ततिः ।

Now so far as the context of this passage warrants, the word *yuga* in त्रिंशतैश्च षष्ट्यधिकैर्युगैः means one year. That yuga means one year, here, will be clear from the verse quoted below. Taking yuga to be one year we get

360 years = 1 divya yuga; 71 divya yugas = 1 manvantara i.e. 360 × 71 = 25560 mānava years.

This computation is corroborated in clear terms in the same Purāṇa in khaṇḍa 2nd, adhyāya 7th:

वर्षे पूर्णे नराणां च दिव्यानां च दिवानिशम् ।
शतत्रये षष्ट्यधिके नराणां च युगे गते ॥
देवानांहि युगो ज्ञेयो कालसंख्याविदां मतः ॥१६॥
मन्वन्तरं तु दिव्यानां युगानामेकसप्ततिः ।

Here a yuga clearly means one year. It is clear further:

मन्वन्तरं तु दिव्यानां युगानामेकसप्ततिः ।
एवं क्रमाद्भ्रमन्त्येव मनवश्च चतुर्दश ॥
पञ्चविंशतिसाहस्रं षट्शतान्तशतपञ्चकम् ।
नरमानयुगं चैव परं मन्वन्तरं स्मृतम्

This mentions a manvantara to have 25560 nara yugas i.e. mānava years. So according to this view of *BrV.*: manvantara = 25560 mānava years.

Bṛhannāradiya (5th)

एकसप्ततिसंख्यातैर्दिव्यैर्मन्वन्तरं युगैः ।
चतुर्दशभिरेतैश्च ब्रह्मणो दिवसं मुने ॥१५॥

Here manvantara is taken to be 71 divya yugas and not 71 caturyugas as is usual. This therefore seems to support the view expressed in *BrV.*

Āryabhaṭṭa I

काहो मनवो ढ मनुयुगाऽख गतास्ते च मनुयुगच्छना च ।
कल्पादेर्युगपादा ग च गुरुदिवसाच्च भारतात् पूर्वम् ॥

This is usually taken to mean that there are 14 manus in one day of Brahmā. One manu has 72 yugas i.e. caturyugas. But about the inter-

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pretation of this quotation from Āryabhaṭṭa I have certain doubts which I have discussed elsewhere. But according to this view manvantara will have $4320000 \times 72 = 311040000$ mānava years.

After thus gathering these different views about manvantara computation, let us now tabulate the results so far obtained.

Table IV

No.	Purāṇa	Divya years	Mānava years	Remarks
1	*Mārkaṇḍeya* and all others	852000	306720000	*sādhikaṃ vinā*
2	*Matsya*	140000	(1) 311032880-6 (2) 50400000	
3	*Vāyu*		(1) 280000000 (2) 280050571·4 (3) 4089871428·5 (4) 255600000 (5) 341897102·9	
4	*Narasiṃha*	879000	316440000	sādhika
5	*Harivaṃśa*		12960000	
6	*Brahma*		30240000	sāgra
7	*Brahmavaivarta*		25560	
8	*Āryabhaṭṭa*		311040000	

This table shows 13 different views about the number of years in a manvantara. According to these views a manvantara has (1) 306720000 (2) 311032880-6 (3) 50400000 (4) 28000000. (5) 280050571·4 (6)408·957·1428·5 (7) 255600000 (8) 341897102·9 ((9) 316440000 (10) 12960000 (11) 30240000 (12) 25560 (13) 311040000 years.

This is a bewildering mass of figures. Let us see if there was a system underlying it.

Generally there are two ways for computing the years for a manvantara.

(1) Manvantara = caturyuga × 71

(2) ,, = caturyuga × 1000 ÷ 14, i.e. caturyuga × 71·42

Both these methods will yield the following number of years for a manvantara.

(1) Manvantara = caturyuga × 71

$432000 \times 71 = 306720000$ mānava years

or $12000 \times 71 = 852000$ divya years

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(2) Manvantara = caturyuga × 71·42
= 4320000 × 71·42 = 308571428·5 mānava years
or 12000 × 71·42 = 857142·8 divya years

It will be, at once, perceived that the first way yields the figure 30,67,20,000 which is found in most of the Purāṇas, while the figure yielded by the second method is not found anywhere.

It will further be seen from the passages cited above that whenever the Purāṇas give 306720000 years for a manvantara, they qualify the figure by 'sādhikaṃ vinā' or 'adhikaṃ vinā' i.e. the actual figure for a manvantara was something more than the one given. Then what is this sādhika?

At first we are tempted to say that sādhika is ·42 as found in the above second method. If so, sādhikaṃ figure will always be 30,85,71,428·5. But it is not so, for *Narasiṃha Purāṇa,* which qualifies its figure expressly as sādhika, gives the figure as 31,64,00,000. It, therefore, means that sādhika as meant by the Purāṇa is not ·42. How, then, can we explain this sādhika?

I have already said that, so far as I can see, manvantara had two distinct senses (which may have been sometimes confused in the later days). One of its senses is the period of the whole line of a Manu. For instance, in the line of Vaivasvata Manu the period from Vaivasvata Manu to any particular king (with whom the line may have been taken as closed or in whose reign the manvantara computation may have been made) may be called a manvantara. Therefore Manvantara will be of varying lengths.

In order to understand and substantiate the fullest implication of the above statement, let us quote the usual formula for manvantara computation, which we find in almost all the Purāṇas. The line is:

चतुर्युगानां संख्याता साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः ।
मन्वन्तरं

It will be seen that this is the same as manvantara = 30,67,20·000 + sādhika. But Purāṇas do not seem to be always uniform about this formula. For instance, *Brahma* has the following statement: (5, 54)

युगानि सप्ततिस्तानि साग्राणि कथितानि च ।
कृतवं तादियुक्तानि मनोरन्तरमुच्यते ॥

and sāgra of this statement seems to be the same as sādhika of other Purāṇas. So that according to this statement we get manvantara = caturyuga × 70 + some years.

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Again Āryabhaṭṭa I and even Puliśa are said to have taken manvantara = caturyuga × 72.

Thus we get three different formulas as under:

(1) manvanatara = caturyuga × 70 + some years
(2) ,, ,, × 71 + some years
(3) ,, ,, × 72

Let us find out the reason of selecting the figure 71 or, for the matter of that, the figures 70, 71 and 72 as given by different authorities?

Keeping in mind that one of the senses of manvantara is a ruling generation and the other the period from Vaivasvata Manu to any given king in his line, we may speculate thus: Supposing the manvantara computation to have started with Vaivasvata Manu, at Ikṣvāku, the manvantara will be the period of one ruling generation, at Vikukṣi (the son of Ikṣvāku) the manvantara will be the period of two generations. Thus if some one took in his head to compute manvantara (i.e. the period lapsed since Manu Vaivasvata) in the reign of the 71st king of the line, he would say that manvantara was 70 ruling generations. Similarly in the reign of the 72nd king, manvantara will have 71 ruling generations and in the reign of the 73rd king it will have 72 ruling generations.

Now taking this possibility along with the above three formulas, *viz.*, manvantara = caturyuga × 70 or 71 or 72, we may say that caturyuga was taken to be equal to one ruling generation or that one ruling generation was taken to be equal to one caturyuga. Thus if the computation was made in the reign of 71st king from Manu Vaivasvata, it would be said that manvantara = 70 × caturyuga (ruling generation) + sādhika where sādhika would mean the number of years elapsed of the rule of the 71st king when the computation was made. Similarly if the computation was made in the reign of the 72nd king from Manu Vaivasvata it would be said that manvantara = 71 × caturyuga (ruling generation) + sādhika sādhika would mean the number of years elapsed, of the rule of the 72nd king when the computation was made.

But then the next question will be what would be the number of years for a caturyuga, if we take caturyuga to be a ruling generation and what authority we have to take it like that. Elsewhere[3] I have given all the possible caturyugas. A reference there will show that caturyuga may

3 See *Poona Orientalist*, vol. VI, nos. 3 & 4.

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have 4, 40, 400, 4000 or 4800 years. Out of these, what can be the period for a ruling generation? I think that the Purāṇas have taken, whether rightly or wrongly, 40 years for one ruling generation. I know that, in the modern age, this average will be seriously disputed, but at present I simply wish to suggest that Purāṇas have taken caturyuga or a ruling generation to be 40 years.

But now taking this as correct i.e. taking 40 years for a ruling generation as well as for a caturyuga, let us see what a manvantara will be. Substituting this value we have

(1) manvantara = caturyuga × 70 + some years
40 × 70 = 2800 + some years

(2) ,, = caturyuga × 71 + some years
40 × 71 = 2840 + some years

(3) manvantara = caturyuga × 72
40 × 72 = 2880 years

This, if true, will mean that manvantara computations were made between 2800 and 2880 years after Manu Vaivasvata.

Thus computations were made in the reigns of the 71st, 72nd and 73rd kings from Vaivasvata Manu. And then the manvantara was taken to be equal to 70, 71 or 72 ruling generations or caturyugas.

Thus it will be seen that sādhika figure cannot be the same always. It will be the elapsed number of the regnal years of the king in whose reign the computation was made.

If this is properly understood, one fact will emerge out of it naturally—that a manvantara may be computed in any king's reign in Vaivasvata Manu's line and that accordingly the number of years for the manvantara will not be the same always. It is, therefore, not surprising that we get various computations for a manvantara.

Now let us understand what is caturyuga. In the usual formula

चतुर्युगानां संख्याता साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः ।
मन्वन्तरं

it means 40 years. But the usual caturyuga has 43,20,000 years and it is according to this usual caturyuga that the Purāṇas calculate the years for manvantara, kalpa etc. So if we wish to turn the usual figure into our caturyuga of 40 years, we will have to divide the usual figure by 108000 (4320000 ÷ 40 = 108000). That is, if we wish to know the number of years after Manu Vaivasvata, when the computation was made, we should divide the usual

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figure by 1,08,000. If further, we wish to know the number of ruling generation from Manu, in whose reign the computation was made, we should divide the result obtained by dividing by 108000, by 40. Thus

(1) To get the number of years elapsed since Manu Vaivasvata, divide the usual Purāṇic figure by 108000.

(2) To get the number of ruling generation from Manu Vaivasvata, divide the result of (1) by 40 or divide the usual figure directly by (108000 × 40) 4320000.

Then taking these two keys let us examine the various figures (which are given according to the usual Purāṇic caturyuga of 43,20,000 years) given in Table IV.

(1) The first number is 30,67,20,000, which when divided by 108000 will yield 2840, which again divided by 40 will give 71. Thus this computation was made in the 72nd king's reign, 2840 years after Vaivasvata Manu.

(2) Brahma figure is 30,24,00,000, which when divided by 108000 will give 2800, which again, divided by 40 will give 70. Thus this computation was made in the 71st king's reign, 2800 years after Vaivasvata Manu. (It is significant that *Br.* formula is Manavantara = 70 caturyugas + sāgra).

(3) *Narasiṃha* figure, which is sādhika, is 31644000, which when divided by 108000, will yield 2890, which again divided by 40 will yield 72 reigns + 10 years. This will mean that this computation was made in the 11th regnal year of the 73rd king, 72 kings having already passed.

(4) Now we shall examine the figures given in *Matsya*. Over and above the usual sādhikaṃ vinā figure of 306720000, it gives two more figures for the manvantara which are, (1) 311032880-6 and (2) 140000 divya years or 50400000 mānava years. Out of these two figures, the first when divided by 108000 will give 2880-5 months, which again, divided by 40 will give 72·1. It will mean that the computation was made after five months i.e. in the 6th month of the 73rd king's reign.

Again dividing the above second figure (5,04,00,000) by 108000 we shall get 466·6 years, and dividing the years by 40, we shall get 11·6. This, if true, will mean that the computation was made after 26 years of the reign of the 12th king had passed.

Vāyu seems to have made the greatest confusion. Let us take the first two figures first viz., (1) 280000000 and (2) 280050571. Both these will yield:

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(1) 280000000 ÷ 108000 = 2592·9 = 64·6

(2) 280050571 ÷ 108000 = 2593·5 = 64·9

This means that both these computations were made in the 65th king's reign i.e. the king-lists, at one time, must have closed at 64th king.

The third computation of *Vāyu* gives 4089571428·5. This according to our key will give 4089571428·5 ÷ 108000 = 37886 ÷ 40 = 921·6.

I am unable to explain this in any manner. The figure is huge beyond all explanations.

Fourth computation of *Vāyu* has 255600000 years for a manvantara. It will give 255600000 ÷ 108000 = 2336·6 ÷ 40 = 59·1.

That is, the computation was made in the reign of the 60th king.

Fifth computation of *Vāyu*, if true, gives 3418971029, as explained by me earlier. This will give 341897109 ÷ 108000 = 79·1. That is, the computation was made in the 80th king's reign. But the computation is not likely to be true, as it refers to the future manvantaras.

Manvantara figures as given from *Harivaṃśa* and *Brahma Vaivarta* in our table, do not fall in the same class as the above figures. They are not computed on the caturyuga basis.

Thus we find that manvantara computations were made in the reigns of the 60th, 65th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd and perhaps 80th and 12th kings from Manu Vaivasvata. We have no more references at present, but it is possible that manvantara computations were made at the end of every king's reign as I shall explain later on. But let us, for clarity's sake, make a table of the results obtained so far. Manvantara computations were made:

Table V

In which king's reign	How many years after Vaivasvata Manu
12th	466·7
60th	2366·6
65th	2592·9
,,	2593·4
71st	2800 + ?
72nd	2840 + ?,
73rd	2880 + 5 months
73rd	2890
80th	3165·4

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Out of all these computations that in the reign of 72nd king after Vaivasvata Manu, is attested by most of the Purāṇas, which suggest that there was a regular campaign of reconstruction then. Hence it is that the formula चतुर्युगानां संख्याता साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः । मन्वन्तरं finds place in almost all the Purāṇas.

A ruling generation = 40 years

Let us now consider why the average of a ruling generation was taken at 40 years, which no historian would think to be probable.

How can that average work out even according to the Purāṇas which take Abhimanyu as a king. Abhimanyu died long before Arjuna's death. How, then, can we take two ruling generations in such cases? Abhimanyu never ruled and yet his name is found in the genealogies. It is, therefore, wrong to talk of an average of 40 years for a ruling generation.

The caturyuga formula, as I have understood it, took 40 years for a ruling unit and not for one king's regnal period. This unit of 40 years may be employed in two ways thus:

The Purāṇas usually describe *vaṃśa, vaṃśānucarita* and *manvantara*. Under *vaṃśa* fall genealogies i.e. lists of the names of the kings. Under *vaṃśānucarita* fall main incidents of the reigns of prominent kings. Thus *vaṃśa* and *vaṃśānucarita* preserve the name of every king, however small his regnal period might have been. But, then, what is a *manvantara?* Out of the various units of time-measure like yuga, manvantara, kalpa etc., why is manvantara taken as one of the Purāṇa-pañcalakṣaṇa? I think that the manvantara was the regular method of calculating regnal periods of different kings in a dynasty. Thus on the one hand the Purāṇas recorded the number of all the kings that ruled in a particular dynasty, their individual names, their individual regnal period etc., and on the other hand they also recorded the total regnal period of a dynasty. Thus the total period will go on increasing with every new king. To remember this ever-increasing total, they found out the device of computing totals of regnal periods at regular intervals. This regular interval they fixed at 40 years. Therefore over and above recording the actual regnal periods of every king, they noted that the units of 40 years over in the reigns of kings number so and so. Let us take an example. Suppose there were seven kings who ruled thus.

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Kings	Individual regnal period	Caturyuga & no. of the king in whose reign that caturyuga was over
1	23	.....
2	18	1, (2nd)
3	53	2, (3rd)
4	18	.....
5	52	3 and 4, (5th)
6	18	.....
7	18	5, (7th)

It will be thus said that 1st caturyuga was over in the 2nd king's reign, 2nd caturyuga in the 3rd king's reign, 3rd and 4th caturyugas in the 5th king's reign and the 5th caturyuga in the 7th king's reign. Thus though the kings were seven, caturyugas were five and they had to remember both these. But as time would pass it would become very complicated to remember the names and serial numbers of kings and also the numbers of kings in whose reigns caturyugas were over.

So another method of caturyuga computation came into vogue. This would try to harmonise the number of kings in the vaṃśa with the number of caturyugas in the manvantara. It may work out thus:

If they found that the first king ruled for 28 years, 2nd king for 11 years and the 3rd king for 25 years, they would not mention the first two kings in the lists. The ruling unit of 40 years was completed in the 3rd king's reign, therefore only the 3rd king would be mentioned in the genealogy and his number thus would become 1st, though originally 3rd. Again if the 4th king ruled 24 years, he too, would be mentioned, for in his reign also a unit of 40 years was over. Thus this method of caturyuga computation was to mention in the genealogies, only those kings, in whose reigns, the units of 40 years were over, others being omitted. It may, however, sometimes happen that the unit was over in the reign of an insignificant king and just after him or just before him had ruled a very prominent king, then that prominent king's name might be mentioned and the name of the insignificant king might be dropped, computation always proceeding on the basis of units (or caturyugas) of 40 years.

Out of these two methods, I have mentioned the first as a historic probability, but the second we find in actual use. The Purāṇas expressly declare that in the solar line they have mentioned only the prominent kings, not all the kings that ruled in that line. Compare the concluding remarks of *Vāyu* (88th):

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एते ऐक्ष्वाकुदायादा राजानः प्रायशः स्मृताः ।
वंशे प्रधाना ये तेऽस्मिन्प्राधान्येन तु कीर्तिताः ॥ २१७॥

Similar remark is found in almost all the Purāṇas. One remark of *Vāyu* is significant in this connection.

एतद्वः कथितं सर्वं समासव्यासयोगतः ॥११,४६१॥

This samāsa and vyāsa method of *Vāyu* seems to be the above 2nd method. It was the method of condensation and amplification. Let us understand it more clearly. Suppose the seven kings ruled thus:

King	Regnal period	Caturyuga over
		.....
1	23	
2	18	(1) [41]
3	53	(2) [53]
		.....
4	18	
5	52	(3) & (4) [84]
		.....
6	18	
7	18	(5)
	200	

According to this method the first king will not be mentioned but the second will be mentioned and if it is the custom of giving the years of his regnal period, they would be given as 23 + 18 = 41 years and not 18 years. Again the third king will be mentioned and his period will be given as 53 years. At the end of the third king's reign 14 years will be left over for the next unit of 40 years. Taking these 14 years with the 18 of the fourth king, we shall get 32 years completed with the end of the 4th king's reign. So the caturyuga will not be over in his reign and therefore he too will not be mentioned in the lists. Now the 5th king has ruled 52 years. Adding to his period, 32 years accummulated from earlier unit, his period be of 84 years. So in his regnal period two caturyugas will be over. What should be done in such a case? In the earlier cases samāsa was resorted to by condensing two or three kings into one. In this case vyāsa (amplification) will be necessary, so that two kings will be added to the list, instead of one. Next unit of 40 years will be over at the end of the 7th king's reign, so 6th will be dropped and 7th will be mentioned.

Thus for seven kings we get a total of 200 years and five caturyugas. Therefore, according to this second method they would condense the first four kings into two by samāsa, would split up the 5th into two by vyāsa

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and would, once again, condense the 6th and 7th kings into one by samāsa. Thus according to this method, there will be 5 ruling units and only 5 kings will be mentioned in the lists, whereas actually there were 7 kings in 200 years. Thus the average of ruling generation, which was originally (200 ÷ 7 =) 28·5 years would be raised up to 40 years.

This is what I call Manvantara-caturyuga method employed by the Purāṇakāras for chronological calculations. That this method has been actually employed for chronological computations from Vaivasvata Manu down to the end of the Maurya period I shall show in my future studies of the subject.[4]

D. R. Mankad

4 In my paper, 'The Manvantara-Caturyuga Method' (*ABORI.*, Silver Jubilee Number) I have shown how that method was employed in Pre-Mbh. Solar and Lunar Dynasties. In a paper (to appear shortly in *Poona Orientalist*) I have shown how this method is employed in the Kali Dynasties.

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A new Source of the Political History of Kāmarūpa

A special class of Tantra dealt with the geography and political history of the country. The Buddhist Tantra called *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* which was discovered in the South and edited and published in 1925 by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstri contains a chapter on the political history of India. This has been since studied and commented on by Jayswal (*An Imperial History of India, c.* 700 B.C.-*c.* 770 A.D.). The account is no doubt interesting but it does not provide us with so sure a chronicle of historical events as Mr Jayswal thought. The names of kings are indicated only by the initial letters of which the interpretation is at times highly fanciful.

Another Tantrik work containing an account of kings and ruling dynasties of India in general and particularly of Kāmarūpa was discovered sometime ago by Mr. M. B. Bhaduri in the District of Faridpur, Bengal. He was kind enough to send me the original manscript as well as his transcription for a special study of the data contained in it. I have thought it fit to publish a short account of the manuscript as it may lead to the discovery of other texts of the same type and may be of some use to those who are making a special study of the history of Assam.

The name of the text is *Haragaurīsaṃvāda*. The manuscript is written on oblong strips of Sanchi bark in Assamese characters. The manuscript distinguishes between *ba* and *va* and write *ra* in the Assamese manner. The manuscript is not complete and ends on page 34 verso. A work called *Haragaurīsaṃvāda* is also described by Mr. H. C. Goswami in the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Assamese Manuscripts* (Calcutta University, 1930), no. 54. The manuscript described by him is complete and contains 67 pages and ends with Chapter XXV. As the description is very meagre it is not possible to say if it is another manuscript of the same text.

The date of the manuscript is not given. But the last king of Kāmarūpa mentioned in the text is Kamala who died in Śaka 1731 (1808 A.D.). He is no doubt the same as King Kamaleśvara who reigned from 1795 to 1810 A.D. (Gait, *A History of Assam*). The names of the kings are gene-

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rally indicated by the initial letters and the whole narration is in the form of a prediction, in conformity with the method followed in the Purāṇas and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.

Contents of the ms.

Haragaurīsaṃvāda is not a continuous work so far as my manuscript goes. It contains a number of independent texts and hence there are repetitions. Up to the 7th chapter there is some sort of continuity but after that the continuity is broken. This will be clear from the following account of the manuscript.

I. Introductory. Gaurī wants to know from Hara about various countries in Bhāratavarṣa. II. Hara gives an account of the various countries in India. The account begins with a description of Orissa, the holy land of Jagannātha. III. Good and bad omens in regard to the fate of Kāmarūpa. IV. A description of the Kali age and an account of the rulers of India from the time of Yudhiṣṭhira up to the time of the Śaka rulers. V. Importance of Hastināpura or Ḍilli and the Cakravarti rulers. VI. The story of Narakāsura. VII. A description of Kāmarūpa and its earlier kings. The earlier text must have ended here.

Then follow three sections which are rather given in the form of supplements. They contain an account of the rulers of the Indravaṃśa (i.e. Ahoms) from about the 12th to the 18th century of the Śaka era.

The main account almost ends with these three subsections of Chapter VII. They are followed by general accounts of rulers devoid of any precise historical value. The rulers are then arranged according to various planetary ages like those of Śukra, Kuja, Guru (Bṛhaspati), Budha etc.

Then follow various independent chapters called *Kāmarūpanirṇaya, Utkalanirṇaya, Mathurādhyāya, Rājanirṇaya* and again *Kāmarūpanirṇaya* which is called without any rhyme or reason the 25th chapter. So far the Sanskrit verses are followed by abridged Assamese translations in prose. These are always called Kathā. This is followed by a large section in which the Kathā portion is in Bengali verse and Sanskrit verses are few. This section is entitled *Tripurādeśer kathā*—an account of the Kingdom of Tripurā. Here the Bengali portion seems to be the original work, the Sanskrit verses being introduced later.

The rest of the manuscript is missing.

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The geography of India

As already said the second chapter contains an account of the various countries of Bhāratavarṣa (India). The same is repeated almost verbatim in a subsequent section viz. that on the kings of the age of Śukra. The account begins with a description of the kingdom of Indradyumna—the holy land of Jagannātha. The kingdom of Indradyumna is in the centre of Bhāratavarṣa. The other countries of India are mentioned with reference to that holy land. [The names given within brackets are the alternative forms occurring in the other list referred to].

The countries in the East are: Magadha, Muruṇḍa (?), Mauru (?), Vārendra, Kukuṣa, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Varvara, Pañcarāṭ, Kāmarūpa, Tripurā, Kojñāna (?), Mlecchadeśa, Kurkura, Pauṇḍra, Kaurāṇḍaka, Gaṇḍa, Sauṇḍa, Saunvadbhava, Kāmarūpa, Saumāra.

The countries in the South are: Mahindra, Dudura, Kaura, Laṅkā, Lāpātina (Tāpina), Uḍiyā, Jayanti, Dahiti, Naktika (Sañjika), Vekhā (Rekha), Vandapuṣi (Bahupuri), Sauri, Śrīmanda, Calācala? Śrīparvata, Kiṣkindhyā, Alia (?)

The countries in the West are: Mānava, Pāṣika, Gārvo (?), Morāṭa (Marurāṭa), Yutamānava (Dyuta-), Mandirā(ṭa), Mahendra, Drāviḍa, Hāṭaka (Maru Hāṭaka), Pārāvata, Maruka, Māravi (?), Sandhava, Mlecchadeśa.

The countries in the North (wrongly given as 'middle') are: Nepāla, Kāśmīra, Raukā, Kuru, Sarasvatī, Sāraṅga (Sāraṅka) Janna-Jarandhâ (? Jālabaddha), Lāṭa Dadhi (? Vālukodadhi), Avakundha (?), Kukarṇa, Kedāra, Gaṅgādvāra, Sukunda, Kumbhakaṭa, Paromaṭa, Somodbhava.

The countries in the centre (Madhyadeśa) are: Ayodhyā, Mithilā, Kāśī, Kauśāmbi, Kauṣikī, Gayā, Ahicandra, Vārendra, Mathurā, Hastināpura, Kānyukubja and Prayāga.

The text continues: The presiding deity of the country of king Indradyumna is Janārdana. It is called Uḍiyāna (-Uḍiyādeśa according to the Assamese translation). Kaliṅga is to the north of this country.

To the north-east is the country of Aṅga, the kingdom of Karṇa. Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and also Tripurā are called Śivarājya. One should not go to these countries except for pilgrimage. Tripurā is to the east of the Lohitya, and on the other side of the country of Vaṅga. The spotted

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deers are not found in that country. The country of Magadha is on the western bank of the Ganges. Varendra is between the Ganges and the Karatoyā whereas Pauṇḍra is to the west of Varendra and to the south of the Lohitya, on the Karatoyā. The country of Rādhaka is to the north of Varendra, to the east of Videha and to the west of the Ratnapīṭha (in Kāmarūpa).

Another section of the text which deals with the same subject and to which we have already referred contains some additional information. While speaking of Magadha it says that the country is situated to the west of Gaya and to the south of Vaṅga. The country is as holy as Pañcarāṭa. Varendra according to this section is between the Ganges and the Karatoyā. It is the country where great sacrifices are made. To the east of Vaṅga there is the country of the Mlecchas. Rādhaka is to the east of Videha. It is to the north of Varendra and to the west of Ratnapīṭha.

The Political History of India

As already stated, in the fourth chapter of the text there is first of all a short account of the evils of the Kali age. About the Kali age, it is said, "During the first 1000 years the influence of Viṣṇu will not cease; during the next 6000 years the waters of the Ganges will not lose its sanctity but during the last 3000 years only the village deities will guide the destiny of men." Next follows a short political history of India. The account is probably multilated as there is a gap between Yudhiṣṭhira and the Nandas. The account is as follows:

The pious king Yudhiṣṭhira is (the first) king in the Kali age. He will reign for 1412 years. Then will come the Nandas who will reign for 500 years. They will be followed by the Gautamas who will reign for 400 years. After them the Mayūras will reign for 132 years. They will be followed by the Pañcasama (tr. Pāṇḍavas) who will reign for 105 years. Then will reign the Śaka kings, possessed with all good qualities. The Sun of the Śaka (Śakāditya) will be king in the Kali year 3179. The Śaka kings will reign for 180 years. The King Vikramāditya of great spiritual perfection (Mahāsiddha) will thereafter be installed as king in the Śaka year 171 (? Ku Viśva Bhūmi). He (and his successors) will reign for 102 years. In his times the people will become Buddhist as Hari will then attain Bodhi. He will be followed by King Bhoja who

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will reign for 113 years. In his times a revival of Brahmanism will take place. With him the line of Kṣatriya kings will come to an end.[1]

It may be pointed out in this connection that the Purāṇic accounts ascribe 360 years to the Śaiśunāgas and 100 years to the Nandas, 137 years to the Mauryas and 183 years to the Śakas. Gautamas who are said to have followed the Nandas are not otherwise known. The Gautamas are according to an unknown source the same as the rulers of the Śākya clan. It is said that they ruled for 15 generations (see the additional note later). The Pāṇḍavas who are made to succeed the Mauryas are not expressly mentioned in the text. The text has: *pañcottara śataṃ pañca samo rājā* (sic. *rājyaṃ*) *kariṣyati*. The Assamese translation explains *pañca-sama* as *Pāṇḍava*. It may be noted that the Kali-year 3179 which is given as the year of the advent of Śakāditya exactly corresponds to 78 A.D. It is difficult to say who is the Mahāsiddha Vikramāditya who came into power after the fall of the Śakas. The year of his ascendance is given as Śaka year 171 which corresponds to 249 A.D. With king Bhoja we probably come to the Gurjara Pratihāras as is clear from that which follows.

In the fifth chapter there is first of all a reference to the importance of Dilli or Hastināpura and then a legendary account of the name of the city. This is followed by a rather vague account of the kings that ruled in that city from the 9th to the 12th century of the Śaka era. The account is as follows:

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1 There is some difference between the text and the Assamese translation in regard to this passage. The Sanskrit verses are as follows:

कले राज्ये भवेद्राजा धर्मपुत्रो युधिष्ठिरः ।
चतुर्दशशतं वर्षं द्वादशाब्दमतःपरं ॥
नन्दः पञ्चशतं ज्ञेयं गौतमः चतुरशतं ।
मयूरश्चाकरोद् राज्यं द्विषष्टि चतुरत्रयं ।
पञ्चोत्तरशतं पञ्चसमो राज्यं करिष्यति ॥

"In the Kali age the righteous king Yudhiṣṭhira (and his successors) reigned for 1412 years, the Nandas for 500 years, the Gautamas for 400 years, and the Mayūras for $60 \times 2 + 4 \times 3 = 132$ years. The Pañcasama kings will reign for 105 years."

The Assamese translator without understanding the verses says: "Yudhiṣṭhira reigned for 126 years (*cay adhik cay kuri*), the Nandas for 105 years (*pañcādhik śat*), the Gautama for 144 years (*callic cāri adhik śat*), the Mayūras for 129 years (*cakuri nava*) and the Pāṇḍavas for 155 years (*śata-pañcaśatpañca*)."

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There will be a great king at Ḍilli who will rise into power in the Śaka year 809 (887 A.D.) He will be victorious over the *mlecchas*. He will conquer all kings in the Śaka year 802 (880 A.D.) The kings of this dynasty will reign till the Śaka year 1107 (1195 A.D.).

The name of the king who rose into power in the Śaka year 802 is given as Janamejaya whose mother was a Yavanī girl. His father was a prince of the Indravaṃśa. However meagre it may be, the passage refers to the medieval rulers of Delhi. The dynasties of Hindu rulers of Delhi and Kanauj came to an end between 1193 and 1197 A.D.

The Political History of Kāmarūpa

The political history of Kāmarūpa which is the main theme of the *Haragaurīsaṃvāda* is narrated in Chap. VI and in the chapters and sub-sections that follow. The account begins with the following geographical description of Kāmarūpa:

Kāmarūpa is the country between the Karatoyā and the Dikkaravāsinī. It is divided into four pīṭhas or holy regions: The first is the Ratnapīṭha which is situated between the Karatoyā and the Svarṇakoṣī. The second is the Kāmapīṭha situated between the Svarṇakoṣī and the Kāpilī. The third is the Svarṇapīṭha between the Rūpikā and the Bhairavī and the fourth the Saumarāpīṭha between the Bhairavī and the Dikkara.

The same account is also found in the *Yoginī Tantra* where the boundaries of Kāmarūpa are given thus: "From the mountain Kāñcana in Nepāla up to the confluence of the Brahmaputra, from the Karatoyā to the Dikkaravāsinī, the northern limit is the mount Kañja, in the west the Karatoyā, in the east the Dikṣu, in the south the confluence of the Lākṣā with the Brahmaputra." (Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, p. 113). The *Yoginī-Tantra* also mentions the four pīṭhas described in the text. "Kampith from the Karatoyā to the Saṅkosh, Ratnapīṭh from the Saṅkosh to the Rūpahi, Suvarṇapīṭh from the Rūpahi to the Bharali and Saumarpīṭh from the Bharali to the Dikrang. Elsewhere Ratnapīṭh is said to include the tract between the Karatoyā and the Monas, Kampith that between the Monas and Silghat on the north bank of the Brahmaputra and Bhadrapith, the corresponding portion of the south bank while Saumarpith, as before, is the most easterly tract." (Gait, *A History of Assam*, p. 11).

At first an account of the legendary kings is given. This account is as follows:

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At the beginning of the Kali age king Bhagadatta will reign righteously over the four pīṭhas of Kāmarūpa. After his death in the battle of the Kauravas his son Dharmapāla will become king. He will bring 100 Brahmins from Kanauj for the performance of Vedic sacrifices. He along with his minister Sukṛti will rule the country of Kāmarūpa for 125 years. After him there will be a number of rulers belonging to the dynasty of Naraka.

The last portion of the account is not clear. The names of the rulers of Naraka's dynasty are given in a cryptic language. Evidently the initial letter of the names are given. These are: Ja, Sa, Nā, Ga, Bha, Ra, Ta, Ma, Ra, Ja, Ha, Da, Pa, Ca, La, A, Ma, So, Sya, Ma, Bhu, Go, Dha. The number is about 24 or 25. Elsewhere it is said that the descendants of Naraka ruled for 19 generations and that the last kings of the dynasty were Subāhu and Suparṇa. Subāhu became an ascetic. His son Suparṇa was the last of the line (Gait, *ibid.*, p. 14). In our account the son of Bhagadatta is said to have been Dharmapāla. But in the *Mahābhārata* the name of his son is given as Vajradatta, although in one of the Copperplate grants Vajradatta is said to be the brother of Bhagadatta (P. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 9). Our account however agrees with the Burañji to some extent. In the Burrañji the order of succession is given as: Naraka, Bhagadatta, Dharmapāla, Pṛthvīpāla and Subāhu (Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 14). The account then deals with the historical period.

The son of the king of Magadha named Lakṣmīpāla will then invade and occupy all the countries from Gauḍa up to the western bank of the Karatoyā. He will acquire religious merits by feeding the Brahmins on the banks of the river. He will reign for 74 years and then retire to the forest after installing his son on the throne. His son Subāhu will ascend the throne in the Kali year 3179 (78 A.D.). He will enter into an alliance with Śakāditya. When Vikrama after killing his elder brother Śaka becomes king there will be great enmity between him and Subāhu. When the horse of Vikrama consecrated for the horse-sacrifice will go to Prāgjyotiṣa a great war will break out between Subāhu and Vikramāditya. Subāhu will be defeated in the Śaka year 321 (ikṣa-pāṇi-vidhu). He will then retire to the forest after installing his son Subala (?) on the throne. His minister the Brahmin Sumantrī will govern the people of Kāmarūpa for several years.

According to the Burañji Subāhu is the son of Pṛthvīpāla and the

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grandson of Dharmapāla. Dharmapāla might have been the founder of a historical dynasty of rulers in Kāmarūpa but his connection with the line of Naraka and Bhagadatta seems to be quite fictitious. This is because we get a real historical date for Subāhu. He was contemporaneous with Śakāditya the founder of the Śaka era.

The next portion of the account again is confused. Subāhu is said to have fought against Vikramāditya who performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. Who was this Vikramāditya who had killed his elder brother and usurped the throne? He defeated Subāhu in the Śaka year *ikṣa-pāṇi-vidhu*. In usual course it would be Śaka 123 but if we read it from the left to the right then it can be read as 321 (i.e. 399 A.D.). In fact even in the next portion the dates are to be read in this manner. Was this Vikramāditya then Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty who according to other traditions had killed his elder brother Rāmagupta and usurped the throne? The date as corrected fits in well with his assumption of power. We also know otherwise that Candragupta II had war with the Śakas and is said to have exterminated them. The fact shows that the rulers of Kāmarūpa had begun to play some rôle in the political history of Northern India by having alliance with the Śakas of Western India as against the Guptas. The history of Kāmarūpa is then continued in Chapter VII of the text. The foundation of a new dynasty is related:

> A kṣatriya boy from the Drāviḍa country will come to Kāmarūpa for pilgrimage. He will meditate on Viṣṇu for 25 years at the Maniśailatīrtha and Aśvakrāntātīrtha. He will then become king in the Kuvera hill in the Śaka year gaj-agni-tārakeśvara (431 i.e. 509 A.D.) under the name Ticārī. He will reign in the four regions of Kāmarūpa for 62 years. His son Śatānīka will be devoted to the Sun-god. He will fight with the king of Gauḍa on the western bank of the Karatoyā to the east of Ghoṭakācala.....The country will be then governed by the Western Kṣatriyas of Gauḍa for 105 years. Later on the Brahmapūtra will have a son on a female bird in the city of Rāmacandra. This son will be king in the Ratnapīṭha in the year nada-vidhu-bhūmi (? 517 i.e. 595 A.D.). At this time there will be separate kings in each of the pīṭhas. The three other rulers are Gajāṅga, Sūrāṅga and Mṛgāṅga.

We do not know anything about Ticārī. The last king named Mṛgaseems to be the same as Mṛgaṅka, another name of Susthitavarman, father of Bhāskaravarman, whose name along with those of his predecessors

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are given in the *Harṣacarita*. It is therefore probable that it is the line of the predecessors of Bhāskaravarman who reigned in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. which has been imperfectly described in the preceding paragraph.

The Ahom rulers of Kāmarūpa

Next follow three additional sections of Chap. VII which seem to be portions of another text. These deal with a continuous line of rulers called Indravaṃśa. The origin of the Indravaṃśa is given in the following terms:

> There is a mountain called Vihagādri to the east of Sūrapīṭha, to the south of the Himālaya and to the north of the Svarṇādri. There is the Land of Gold (Ratnabhūmi). It is there that Indra through the curse of the sage Vaśiṣṭha, will be born as a human being. He will have a son in his human existence in the year mahī veda nabha candra (1041 i.e. 1119 A.D.). His line is the Indravaṃśa.

A similar Brahmanical account has also been given by Gait (*A History of Assam*, p. 76). The Ahom accounts as given by him also acknowledge the supremacy of Indra in the story of creation. According to one account it is the Pha or Supreme being who was responsible for the creation and according to another it is Lengdon or Indra who was responsible for it. The two sons of Indra, Khunlung and Khunlai, founded the first kingdom. The date of their descent on earth is given as 568 A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 71 ff.). The date of the birth of Indra's son is however given in our text as 1119 A.D. The Land of Gold in the hills to the east of the easternmost region of Kāmarūpa points to the Far East, probably to the Shan States. The account then continues:

> The son of Indra will be king in the Suvarṇādri in the year mahī muni nabha vidhu (1071 i.e. 1149 A.D.). He will have 18 sons who will be king in different hills. A descendant of one of them will go out with seven relatives for the conquest of lands in the west. They will go up to Saumāra and confer there as to the way to be followed (year muni muni dvi bhūmi = 1277). They will then descend from the eastern hills, assemble on the north bank of the Lauhitya and then invade the districts in the south by land and water. He will be king of Kāmarūpa in the year catur vasu kara bhūmi (1284).

We have no information from other sources on the establishment of the Ahom or Indravaṃśa rule or about the 18 sons of the first ruler. The

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next portion of the account is however fairly accurate and agrees with other accounts. We know from the Burañjis that Sukhapha, one of the Ahom leaders, left Maulung in north-west Burma in 1215 A.D. with eight nobles, and proceeding by the way of the Patkoi hills arrived at Khamjang in the Naga country in 1228 A.D. Subsequently in 1236 A.D. he advanced as far as Abhayapura where he settled down for some time. He then descended along the Brahmaputra and extended his kingdom up to the mouth of the Dikhu in 1253 A.D. Sukhapha died in 1268 A.D. (Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 77). Our account agrees with it. It says that 7 relatives accompanied the king, that he descended from the eastern hills and first settled on the bank of the Lauhitya. He then invaded the kingdom of Kāmarūpa which extended up to the Dikhu both by land and water. There are however some difficulty about the dates. The date of their conference on the bank of the Lauhitya is given as 1277 and that of the final conquest of Kāmarūpa as 1284. In Śaka era they correspond with 1355 and 1362 A.D. These are however improbable. If we correct them as 1177 and 1184 they would correspond with 1255 and 1262 A.D. These almost agree with the dates given in the Burañjis. Although the king is not named in our account he is no doubt the same as Sukhapha of the Burañjis.

The account of the Ahom rulers is continued in the section that follows: [The dates in figures also occur in the text].

The king will have one son who will be king of Saumāra in the year bhūmi vidhu agni pakṣa (1231?). He will have three sons. The best among them will be king in Kāmarūpa in the year muni rasa veda bhūmi 1467?). The other two will be kings in other parts of the country. He (the king of Kāmarūpa) will leave a son. He will become king after his father's death. He will attack, in the Śaka year (14) 81, the people of Saumāra and establish the rule of the Indravaṃśa.

His son will be a powerful king. In the year 1209 (? vidhu bhukta graha) Vacana will become king over Saumāra. He will conquer the districts to the north of the Brahmaputra.

This king will have ten mighty sons. One of them called Thula, the best and wisest among them, will be king in the year nanda-viśva (1519). On his death King *Ja* will be king in the Śaka year nanda bhūmi muni bāṇa (? 1517). He will attack the people of Kāmarūpa and carry on a bloody war. In the year mahī vidhu vasu bhūmi (1581)

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the Yavana called *Ma* will invade the country. He will go back to his own country in the year guṇa viśva ikṣa bhūmi (1621).

The account is too brief and too general to afford any sensible interpretation. The dates also are of no use. The name of the king with initial *Ja* seems to be the same as Jayadhvaja and the Yavana invader *Ma*, Mirjumla. The date of the invasion of *Ma* is given as 1581 (1659 A.D.). We know that Mirjumla started on his Assam campaign in 1661 A.D. He began to return in 1663 when he died on his way. Although the first date in our account is almost correct the last is wrong. King Jayadhvaja's reign extended from 1648 to 1663 A.D. If the date of his accession is corrected as 1575 Śaka then we would have 1653 A.D. The last portion of the account therefore seems to be correct to some extent.

King Jayadhvaja left no sons. This is recognised by our account as well as by the Burañjis. The nobles selected a prince of a collateral line and placed him on the throne. Our account runs:

The ministers will invite a prince of the Indravaṃśa and place him on the throne. This king with the help of his nobles will destroy the enemies of Saumāra and rule the country for four years. In the Śaka year 87 (?) there will be a powerful and righteous king, descended from the Indravaṃśa, who will be well versed in polity. His name will be Camasa (?). After him the kings will be only in name and will lead the country into ruin.

The second king Vaca will be a good king but his wicked minister will create factions and destroy everything. The king will die in the Śaka year 1600. There will be then two kings, Piṅga and Kharvakeśa (?) in the year guṇa visu rasa candra (1606). In the year catur vasu rasa candra (1604) he will kill the *mlecchas*. They will not only govern their own country well but will also invade other countries. The bounds of the Saumāra country will be extended far and the people of the country will be heartened. The king will be righteous but he will not care for the Brahmins.

There will be a king called Varada in the Śaka year 1617 (? muni indu rasa pṛthivī). He will marry a princess of another country. In the Śaka year vasu pāṇi rasa indu (1628 ?) the king of Saumāra will invade the Hiḍimba country. The Vara king will then be very powerful. There will be peace with the Hiḍimba country in the year nanda agni rasa śaśāṅka (1639). There will be then war with the king of Jayanti. A

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big confederacy of Yavana kings, Khacara, Bhillasa who will take Ratnapīṭha and then invade Kāmarūpa and then return.

The events recorded in the previous account cannot be clearly identified. We know from other sources that there was some trouble about succession after the death of Jayadhvaja and that the nobles raised on the throne king Cakradhvaja of a collateral line in 1663. Cakradhvaja ruled the kingdom till 1669 when he was succeeded by his brother Udayāditya who reigned till 1673 A.D. During the whole of this period from 1663 to 1673 war with the Muhammadans continued almost uninterruptedly. The Ahoms scored a decisive victory in 1671 A.D. and recovered Kāmarūpa. From 1673 to 1696 the history of succession was blackened by a number of murders. In 1696 Rudrasingh ascended the throne. He reigned till 1714 A.D. It was during his reign that the Bar Barua carried on military campaigns against the kingdoms of Kachar (Hiḍimba) and Jaintia in 1706-1707. Peace was ultimately concluded with those two kingdoms in 1707 A.D. The last two events are correctly recorded in our account. It is said that Hiḍimba country was invaded in the year 1628 (1706 A.D.). Peace was concluded with that country in 1629 (1707 A.D.). The war with Jaintia took place about the same time.

The account then continues:

Thereafter there will be two kings in Saumāra called Yakhā and Sakhā. They will enter into alliance with other kings of Saumāra. They will rule over their kingdom well. The Yavanas will be destroyed in the year ku veda kala bhūmi (i.e. 1641). There will be peace with the Kuvacas in the year 1709. Saumāra will be invaded by the army of Hiḍimba, Jayanti and Manipur. The people will suffer much on this account for 12 years. At that time the Yavanas will be destroyed in the north-west. Thereafter there will be a king called Kamala. He will invade both Saumāra and Kāmarūpa and will conquer those two countries. He will reign righteously for about 12 years. This righteous king will pass away in the Śaka year 1731 (bahni indu sapta bhūmi).

Our account recognises that after the death of Rudrasingh many petty rulers appeared in the country. The last king of some importance is mentioned in our account as Kamala. He must have been the same as Kamaleśvara Singh who ruled from 1795 to 1810 A.D. The date of his death is given in our account as 1731 i.e. 1809 A.D. which almost agrees with the date given in other accounts. The Kuvacas are the Koch. We do not

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however know of any special treaty concluded between the Koch and Ahom rulers in the year 1701 (1779 A.D.). We do not either know of any fall of the Muhammadan rule in the north-west about this time.

Although in the *Haragaurīsaṃvāda* the description of the Indravaṃśa comes to an end with the death of King Kamaleśvara Singh a few verses have been added by some later hand at the end of the chapter. These deal with one or two successors of Kamaleśvara. Although the names of these rulers are not given the last date recorded in the account is Śaka 1734 i.e. 1812 A.D. It is finally stated at the end that the people of Kāmarūpa regained their happiness and prosperity since the time when the king of Mathurā came to visit the temple of Kāmākṣyā.

The Age of Śukra

The section on the age of Śukra is preceded by a geographical account of India in which the country of Gauḍa is given a special importance. In fact the section on the age of Śukra deals with a brief history of the country of Gauḍa. Although this account has no precise historical value still it may be summarised for what it is worth.

(The rulers of Gauḍa)

At the beginning of the age of Śukra the king of Gauḍa will reign for 74 years. He will then be killed by the Mleccha king in the period Sūrya-Śukra. The son of the Mleccha king will reign in Gauḍa. After a few years the son of the former Gauḍa king will attack him and recover his kingdom after killing the Mleccha king. After some time there will be disorder in the kingdom. His minister will then reign in the city of Gauḍa for 24 years. His son will be sinful and will oppress the people. Great disorder will take place in the country. Thereafter Puru Bhauma (?) will be the king of Gauḍa. He will be righteous and praised by his subjects. He will reign for 107 years. After him a Brahmin will be king of Gauḍa. He will reign for 60 years. His son will be attacked by others. Thereafter the country of Gauḍa will be governed by Mleccha, Kṣatriya and Yavana kings in succession. The Kṣatriya king will reign for 52 years. The entire country will then be occupied by the Yavanas who will be rulers of Gauḍa and Magadha. In this age the Brahmins living on the banks of the Karatoyā will be respected by all.

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(*The rulers of Kāmarūpa*)

The second section on the age of Śukra deals with the kings of Kāmarūpa. Here also the account is brief and has no precise historical value.

In the age of Śukra the following will be kings at Ratnapīṭha: Lajasa, Kujana, Sama, Bhajaba, Bimala, Bala (?). They will be succeeded by the Mleccha kings of the line of Naraka. Thereafter Ratnapīṭha will be ruled by the Kṣatriya king who will wrest the country from the hands of the Mlecchas by force. The son of this Kṣatriya king will reign for 12 years and a half. He will have war with the king of Gauḍa. His son will then reign for 14 years. He will also fight with the king of Gauḍa. At this time a great misfortune will overcome the country. The king of Kāmarūpa and the king of Saumāra (? Gauḍa) will fight with each other. The king of Gauḍa will defeat the king of Kāmarūpa and take him prisoner. The king of Gauḍa will rule over Kāmarūpa for 84 years.

The Age of Budha

(*The rulers of Kāmarūpa*)

The text continues the history of Kāmarūpa in its broad outline for the period of Budha:

In this period the kings of the line of Bhagadatta Varada Sava Hata etc. will be kings of Kāmarūpa. When they will have ruled for 150 years Bhārata along with Kāmarūpa will be invaded. Then the country will be governed by the rulers of Gauḍa. Later on the rulers of the line of the sage Vṛṣa will be kings in Ratnapīṭha. They will reign for 108 years. Thereafter Karmaja will reign for 72 years. After that the Mleccha and Kṣatriya kings will reign successively. They will be followed by Nabharapasana who will reign righteously for 152 years. After that Kambhojo will be king in Ratnapīṭha for 52 years. His son will reign for 24 years and his descendants for 68 years. After that Kṣatriya rulers will rule the country for 108 years. The country will then be occupied and ruled for a short time by the Yavana rulers. After the destruction of the Yavanas a king of low caste will reign for 12 years. He will be succeeded by a powerful Brahmin king named Mādhava. During his reign war will break out between Kāmarūpa and Gauḍa. After defeating the Gauḍa people the king will invade Madhyadeśa and Magadha. He will also fight with the ruler of Hastināpura. Mādhava will reign for

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72 years over the whole of Kāmarūpa from Ratnapīṭha. The Brahmin kings will reign for 1000 years. They will be turned out by the Kṣatriya rulers in the age of Śukra.

In the age of Bṛhaspati (? Budha) the Mleccha kings will oust the Kṣatriya rulers from Kāmarūpa. The Mleccha kings *Varakāśāmalacāgājayabhūpāvahā-khaga Manasā Selāji* etc. will reign for 1000 years. Thereafter the country will be governed by the Vaiśya kings for 103 years.

In the age of Budha the kings *Śaśadhāyāgodhārājanāpātajanāhayā* of the Śūdra dynasty will be king in Kāmarūpa. A Brahmin king will oust them from the country and reign for 72 years. His descendants (?) will go to the city of Indradyumna (Puri) when the country will be occupied by the Kṣatriya rulers. The Kṣatriya kings *Jayavyāmadharādāmamanakāvacahāvahā* will reign. Kings called *Varadā* etc. and *Karavīra* etc. will rule the country righteously. They will have war with the kings of Gauḍa. Thereafter the country will be flooded by the Yavanas. The Yavanas will rule the country for sometime. They will be succeeded by the Kṣatriya rulers *Vāraṇa* etc. for 108 years. Thereafter the country to the south of the Karatoyā will be conquered by the Yavanas. The Yavanas will reign for 60 years. The country will then be governed by the Mleccha, Kṣatriya, and Brahmin kings successively. The country will then be governed by the Yavana kings: *Navabhagonasājājyākaranara grahādharā* etc.

The last chapter relating to the history of Kāmarūpa is called *Kāmarūpanirṇaya*. It is a continuation of the history of Kāmarūpa in broad outline and begins with Vaśiṣṭha's curse on Indra and the origin of the Indra dynasty. These rulers are here described as Mlecchas.

In the age of Budha the Mleccha king will destroy the Yavanas near the Dhavala mountain. He will then become the paramount sovereign of Kāmarūpa. The Mleccha line will originate from the woman called Ha and Hara through the curse of Vaśiṣṭha. She will give birth to a powerful son. Kauverīdevī will give birth to a son called Ma. He will have quarrel with his relatives and will perish on the banks of the Tisrosi (? Trisrotā). Later on after a great battle on the Trisrotā the country will be given to the king Na by Takṣaka Sukanāśaka the son of Cāmuṇḍādevī.....The kingdom of Gauḍa will be given by the General Śa to the king Hayagrīva. On his return to his own country Sukanāśaka will have three sons, amongst them Va will ask for kingdom. He will

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kill his elder brother. His eldest son Na will revolt against his father and will perish. His eldest son Hari will be king by force. He will be cursed by his father for oppressing the people and will perish. The kingdom will then pass into the hands of the king of whom the name consists of three letters (*tryakṣara*). He will be succeeded by his son who will be a righteous king. He will sacrifice his own brother Na to the goddess Pārvatī. The king of Hiḍimba will then invade the country and after a bloody war will conquer it. He will also conquer the eastern countries. The country will then be recovered by the king Ni. The country will then be invaded by the Yavanas. A bloody war will ensue and the whole country will be devastated. Many people will perish. The princes will die, the king Ni the son of the Kuvaca will save himself by fleeing to the Gauḍa country of the Turuṣkas.

The king Gu will conquer Kāśī, Kāñcī, Phalgu and Vārānasī. At that time the king of Ḍilli will be killed in a war.

Then follow two chapters called Utkalādhyāya and Mathurādhyāya of which the contents cannot be clearly followed on account of their scrappy nature. There are certain events connected with the history of Kāmarūpa and with them have been mixed up the history of Gauḍa and probably of Orissa. The most important incident seems to be the invasion of Gauḍa by the emperor of Mathurā.

Pārvatī wants to know from her Lord what will happen after the death of the king of Ḍilli and what the king Na will do when the kingdom is given to the son of King Gu. Hara replies that a righteous king will rule the country for some time and then the son of Narasiṃha will be king. The country will then be occupied by the Yavanas for a while. After them the rulers of the Ṛṣi dynasty will reign for sometime. In this period law will perish and the people will greatly suffer. Later on a king called Aśva will recover the kingdom of Saumāra (? Gauḍa) from the Mlecchas. He will have a son who will govern the kingdom for sometime. Later on a king called Madhuvrata will govern the kingdom. In the Śaka year 1610 the Yavana king of Gauḍa will fight with his friends and will perish. After him the Gajapati (?) of the Gauḍa king will be installed as king. (The end of the *Utkalādhyāya*).

The Gauḍa king will fight with the Yavanas and the latter will be killed. Two years after the death of Mukunda a boy king will be installed on the throne. He will be beheaded. This will anger the king of

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Mathurā who will invade Gauḍa. The king of Gauḍa will be defeated and will flee to the south. The king of Mathurā will rule over Gauḍa for 2 years. (The end of the *Mathurādhyāya*).

The king of Mathurā will go back to the country of Ayanti (Avantī?) after 2 years. He will make arrangement for a big war. He will again attack the king of Gauḍa on the banks of the Ganges. The latter will be defeated. The kingdom of Gauḍa will pass into the hands of the king of Mathurā. The king of Mathurā will then conquer the kingdoms in the west. He will be righteous and his fame will spread far and near. Thereafter a king called Bandisura will rule the country for 7 years. After his death the kingdom will pass into the hands of the rulers of Ḍilli. He will be paramount king of the country up to the Dugdhavatī Kāśi (? Dudh Kośi). There will be again war for a year and a half. Then his son will be king. After his death Nirjaya will be king for 10 years. (The end of the Chapter called *Rājanirṇaya*).

Pārvatī wants to know who will be kings of Kāmarūpa during the war between the rulers of Gauḍa, Mathurā and Ḍilli? Hara replies the entire country with the exception of Orissa will be attacked The son of the king of Gauḍa will be a servant of the emperor of Ḍilli. After his death an infant will be set up on the throne. This will again lead to a war with the Yavanas. The kingdom will be given to a son of the king's brother. The king will leave the country and will flee to another country whence he will continue the war for 2 years. There will be a battle on the banks of the Svarṇakośī.....Later on a prince from the Northern country will come and will reinstal on the thrones the kings that will lose their kingdoms. Thereafter king Sa will invade Ratnapīṭha, Kāmarūpa and other kingdoms. (The end of the *Rājanirṇaya*).

Then follows a chapter called Kāmarūpanirṇaya, the 25th chapter, which does not contain anything worth noting.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

I

A detailed list of the various chapters and sections is given below. This will show the fragmentary nature of the text. It seems that chapters of different texts of different dates have been put together. As it is not a continuous text it may not be considered as incomplete—it is probably a text which was in the process of compilation.

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2b iti Haragaurīsaṃvāde prathamaḥ adhyāya...
3b iti Haragaurīsaṃvāde (de)śarājya-śaṅkhyā-nirṇayo nāma dvītiya paṭalaḥ
4b [iti Haragaurīsaṃvāde Kāmarūpa-śubhāśubhanirṇayo-nāma paṭalaḥ]
— — cakravarti-nṛpa pañcamaḥ paṭalaḥ
8a — — narakāsura ṣaṣṭha paṭalaḥ
9a — — kāmarūpa anya bhūpati saptamaḥ paṭalaḥ
11a — — Indravaṃśa prathamaḥ
12a — — Indravaṃśa prathamaḥ
14a — — Indravaṃśārṇavo nāma paṭalaḥ
iti Kāmarūpa vacana nāma
17a iti Haragaurīsaṃvāde śukrāṃśa
17b — — kujāṃśa
18b — — śukrāṃśa
19a — — guruvāṃśa
19b — — budhāṃśa
22a — — Kāmarūpo'dhyāya
25a — — Utkalanirṇaya
26a — — Mathurādhyāya
27b — — Rājanirṇaya
29b — — Kāmarūpanirṇaya pañcaviṃśo'dhyāya
(29b-34b) — Tripurādeśer kathā

II

A history of India entitled *Rājāvalī* was written in Bengali as early as 1808 by Pandit Mṛtyuñjaya Tarkālaṅkāra, a Professor of the College at the Fort William. A second edition of the book published by the Bangabasi Press in B.S. 1312 (1906 A.D.) is still available. The author deals with the history of India from the earliest period up to the accession of the East India Company, but he does not give the sources of his information. Dr. R. C. Majumdar in a recent article—"Saṃskṛta-Rājāvalī-Grantha (*Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, vol. 46, 4, pp. 133 ff.) while discussing the sources of the Bengali Rājāvalī says that so far as the history of the Mahomedan period is concerned his source of information must have been a work like the *Ain-i-Akbari* with which it has close agreement. But the source of information for the earlier period is uncertain.

Dr. Majumdar has in this connection discussed the contents of an incomplete manuscript of a Sanskrit text entitled "Rājāvalī" which he dis-

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covered in the collection of the Dacca University. For the earlier period we get the following information in the Sanskrit text: "The line of the Pāṇḍavas ended in Kali 1812. That was also the end of Kṣatriya rule in India. After that Mahāpadma Nanda and his descendants were rulers for 500 years. They were followed by Vīrabāhu, the Nāstika (materialist) king. He and his descendants ruled for 400 years. After that Dhurandhara was installed as king. Ādiśūra became king of Bengal in this period."

Dr. Majumdar is of opinion that a Sanskrit text like this Rājāvalī was the source of the information given in the Bengali book of Pandit Mṛtyuñjaya Tarkālaṅkāra. The Bengali Rājāvalī however has much closer agreement with the first and the fourth chapters of the *Haragaurīsaṃvāda*, so far as the earlier period is concerned: On p. 4 of the book Pandit Tarkālaṅkāra gives a geographical account of the whole of India similar to what we find in chap. I of our text. Then the following history is given:

Up to the Kali year 4,267 Hindu rulers were on the throne of Delhi. Up to Kali year 1812 28 kings from Yudhiṣṭhira to Kṣemaka were on the throne. 14 rulers of the *Nanda* dynasty from Viśārada to Bodhamalla ruled the country for 500 years after them. They were followed by the *Gotama* dynasty of which 15 kings reigned for 400 years. The first of them was Vīrabāhu and the last Āditya. They were succeeded by the *Mayūra* dynasty of which 9 rulers, beginning with Dhurandhara and ending with Rājapāla reigned for 318 years. Then commenced the rule of Śakāditya who ruled for 14 years up to the Kali year 3044. This was the end of the era of Yudhiṣṭhira.

About the Gotama dynasty the author says (p. 11) that Vīrabāhu, the founder of the dynasty, was the minister of the last Nanda, Bodhamalla. He took advantage of the weakness of the king and usurped the throne. The dynasty traced its origin from Gotama, the son of the Queen Māyā, who founded a materialistic religion in India.

The Sanskrit Rājāvalī described by Dr. Majumdar does not either contain any geographical account at the beginning or give the names of the Gotama and Mayūra dynasties. These occur however in the account of the *Haragaurīsaṃvāda*. Ādiśūra of Bengal is made contemporaneous with Dhurandhara, the Mayūra, in the Sanskrit Rājāvalī but that is not so in the Bengali book. It is true that all these accounts are full of absurdities, but such absurdities however are old and have been handed down by fairly ancient texts.

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TEXT

[Chapters on the history of Kāmarūpa only are printed here. The text as a whole is very corrupt. A thorough emendation of the text has not been attempted but yet a number of blemishes has been removed. The dates within brackets are given by me; the rest occur in the text. Many of them are wrong.]

(VI)

6b भगवन् कथितं सर्वं देशानां लक्षणं पुरा ।
हस्तिनापुरभूपालनिर्णयञ्च विशेषतः ॥
अद्भुतं भवता मह्यं कामरूपसुशोभनम् ॥
नरकस्य पुरं रम्यं तव पीठमनुत्तमम् ।
भक्तिक्षेत्रपीठं रत्नं सर्वकामफलप्रदम् ॥
करतोयां समासाद्य यावद्विकरवाहिनीम् ।
कामरूपेति तं लोका गायन्ति गिरिनन्दिनि ॥
कृते कर्माणि सिध्यन्ति कामाख्या च सुरेश्वरी ।
यतो मनुः कामरूपमिति रूपमकल्पयत ॥
पीठानि तस्य चत्वारि शृणु देवि विभागतः ।
करतोयां समासाद्य स्वर्णकोषनदान्तकम् ॥
रत्नपीठेति तं लोका गायन्ति गिरिनन्दिनि ।
स्वर्णकोषं समासाद्य यावत्तु कपिलीनदीम् ।
कामपीठमिमं लोका गायन्ति सुरवन्दिते ॥
रूपिकान्तु समारभ्य यावत्तु भैरवीनदीम् ।
स्वर्णपीठेति तं लोका गायन्ति गिरिसम्भवे ॥
7a भैरवीन्तु समासाद्य यावद्विकरवाहिनीम् ।
सौमारपीठमाख्यातं लोका गायन्ति सुन्दरि ॥
भगवन् भूतभव्येश पूर्णेन्दुकरविग्रह ।
कामरूपे मदीयेऽस्मिन् चतुःपीठसमन्विते ॥
महीपालो भवेत् को वा को वा पीठचतुष्टये ।
राजानो ये भविष्यन्ति तान् वदस्व विभागतः ॥
कलेराद्ये महीपालो भगदत्तो भवेन्नृपः ।
चित्तपीठं कामरूपं धर्मतः पालयिष्यति ॥

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यस्य मृत्युः कौरवाणां युद्धयज्ञे भविष्यति ।
भोक्ष्यन्ते राजानो ये वा कामरूपं शतं समाः ॥
प्राप्य आत्मसमं पुत्रं धर्मपालनृपोत्तमम् ।
भगदत्तसुतो धीमान् धर्मपालनृपो भवेत् ॥
चतुःपृष्ठान्वितं कामं धर्मतः पालयिष्यति ।
शतविप्रान् समानीय कन्यकुब्जादिदेशतः ॥
यज्ञकर्म स्वयं कुर्वन् स्वप्रजाः पालयिष्यति ॥
स सप्तशतिकाख्यस्य देवीसूक्तस्य चेश्वरि ।
दीर्घसन्तानकामाय लक्षावृत्तिङ्करिष्यति ॥
तन्मन्त्री सुकृतिस्तृप्तिमिच्छन् भूपतिना दृढाम् ।
सहस्रावृत्तिमीशानि स्तवस्य च करिष्यति ॥
मन्त्रिणा सह भूपालो भुञ्जानो भोग्यमुत्तमम् ।
पञ्चविंशोत्तरशतं पालयिष्यति कामरुम् ॥
जसनागभरतामरजहादथपश्चिलाः ।
अमसोस्यामभुगोधा सुरेशि नरकान्वये ॥
7b महीपाला भविष्यन्ति पञ्चोत्तरशतं शतम् ॥
मागधस्य सुतो भूपो लक्ष्मीपालोऽभवद् भूवि ।
प्रतीच्यां करतोयायमागौडमाक्रमिष्यति ॥
महावीर्यैपुरःकामः सूर्यमन्त्रञ्च उत्तमम् ।
लक्षं तीरे देवधर्मविप्रतो भोजयिष्यति ॥
तत्र सम्भोज्य भूदैवान् कृतकृत्यो नृपोत्तमम् ।
चतुःसप्तति वर्षाणि भुक्त्वा भोगामनुत्तमान् ॥
युवानमात्मजं पुत्रमभिषिच्य नृपासने ।
मनोभवगुहामध्ये तपस्तप्तुं प्रवेक्ष्यति ॥
कलेर्गतेषु वर्षेषु ग्रहर्षिविधुवह्निषु । [३१७९]
लक्ष्मीपालसुतो भूपः सुबाहुः सम्भविष्यति ॥
शकादित्यो महीपालो दृढां मैत्रीं करिष्यति ।
यदा शकं विक्रमेण ज्येष्ठं हत्वा नृपो भवेत् ॥
तदावधि सुबाहोस्तु महावैरं भविष्यति ।
यदा तु हयमेधाय विक्रमेण विमोचितः ॥
हयस्तु सर्वदेवेभ्यः सर्वभूतेषु पूजितः ।

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महावीरसमाकीर्णो महासैन्योपवेष्टितः ।
प्राग्ज्योतिषं समायाते तदा क्रोधी भवेन्नृपः ॥
गृहीत्वा स तदा भूपः संस्मरन् मित्रवैरिताम् ।
करिष्यति महायुद्धं महासैन्यविनाशनं ॥
8a ततः स्वगृहमानीय यज्ञं कर्तुं समुद्यतः ।
स्वदेशजनतः स्वर्णं रजतं सञ्चयिष्यति ।
तत् श्रुत्वा विक्रमादित्यो महासैन्यविनाशनम् ।
तं श्रुत्वा हयस्तेन तद्वधे न महोद्यमः ॥
ज्ञात्वा वीरसमाकीर्णसर्वभूपतिसंयुतः ।
सुवाहुना महद्युद्धं प्राग्ज्योतिषे करिष्यति ।
ऐक्षपाणिविधौ शाके विष्णवंशे जीवतांगते । [३२१]
भविष्यति महद्युद्धं सुवाहोस्तु पराजयः ॥
गृहीत्वा स्वं नृपो जातो सुवाहुरतिलज्जितः ।
गमिष्यति तपस्तप्तुं पुत्रजायासमन्वितः ॥
सुवला स्यात् स्वपुत्रस्य साम्राज्यपरिलिप्सया ।
कलेः शेषाङ्कपर्यन्तं हिमाद्रौ तपसिष्यति ।
तन्मन्त्रिणा सुमन्तुना ब्राह्मणानामनुज्ञया ।
कामरूपप्रजाः सर्वाः शासिताः कतिवत्सरान् ॥
इति हरगौरीसंवादे नरकान्वय षष्ठ पटलः ।

VII

अतःपरं शृण् सत्यमन्यभूपतिनिर्णयम् ।
सिद्धक्षेत्रे कामरूपे पीठराजे वरानने ॥
द्रविडादागतः कश्चित् बालकः क्षत्रियस्य तु ।
तीर्थयात्राप्रसङ्गेन पर्यटीत् कामरूपकम् ॥
मणिशैलमहातीर्थमालोक्य क्षत्रियार्भकः ।
विष्णोरेकाक्षरं मन्त्रं पञ्चविंशतिवत्सरान् ॥
8b लक्षमेकं जपेत् पश्चात् कामेशदर्शनं व्रजेत् ।
अश्वक्रान्ते महातीर्थे जपमेवं विधाय च ॥
विष्णंशे सूर्यतां प्राप्ते गजाग्नितारकेश्वरे । [४३१]
तिचारी नाम नृपतिः कुवेराद्रौ भविष्यति ॥

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समाराधितगौरीशः प्रख्यातबलविक्रमः ।
चतुःपीठं कामरूपं द्विषष्टिं पालयिष्यति ॥
तस्य पुत्रः शतानीक आराधितदिवाकरः ।
तद्दिव्यकवचं धृत्वा वसयिष्यति कामरूम् ॥
प्रतीच्यां करतोयायां घोटकाचलपूर्वतः ।
तत्र गौडेश्वरैः साद्धं तस्य युद्धं भविष्यति ॥
दिवाकरस्य देवेशि कवचस्य च धारणात् ।
स्थित्वा हरे प्रजाः सर्वे गौडमप्याक्रमिष्यति ॥
पश्चिमगौडजा घोराः कामरूपं सुरेश्वरि ।
क्षत्रियाः पालयिष्यन्ति तस्य पञ्चोत्तरं शतम् ॥
नगरे रामचन्द्रस्य शूद्रकोप्यस्ति पर्वतः ।
जायास्य ससखी स्नातुं गत्वा ब्रह्मभुवो जलम् ॥
तत्र स्नात्वा तु निमोचिकृताभरणभूषिता ।
सुन्दरीं पक्षिणीं दृष्ट्वा क्षुभो ब्रह्मसुतोऽभवत् ॥
9a महर्षिभिः समाप्लाव्य प्रणेष्यति जलान्तरम् ।
तदेव सङ्गमेनैव पुत्रो जातः समाद्धकः ॥
कामतस्तां निराकृत्य तत्र स्वाम्यं करिष्यति ॥
नन्दाविधुभूभूमौ रुद्रांशे सौरितां गते । [१११५?]
रत्नपीठं समासाद्य तत्र राजा भविष्यति ॥
गजाङ्कश्च सुराङ्कश्च मृगाङ्कश्च इति त्रयः ।
भविष्यन्ति नृपा देवि यावद्वर्षशतं त्रयम् ॥
ततः कालवशादु देवि मण्डले सायने करौ ।
भविष्यन्ति चतुःपृष्ठे कामरूपे पृथक् पृथक् ॥
इन्द्ररूद्रांशसम्भूता बलवीर्यगुणान्विताः ।
विस्तीर्णराजनीतिज्ञनृपाश्चात्र पृथक् पृथक् ॥
इति हरगौरीसंवादे कामरूपनिर्णये अन्यभूपति [निर्णयः] सप्तम पटलः ।

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चतुःपृष्ठे कामरूपे नृपा ये वै पृथक् पृथक् ।
तन्मे वदस्व देवेशि यदि स्नेहोऽस्ति मां प्रति ॥
शृणु देवेशि वचनमाद्यन्तं कामरूपतः ।
सुरेशो मानुषो भूत्वापतद्दुद्रोऽपि वा यथा ॥

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आसीद्गिरिवरः श्रेष्ठो विहगाद्रिरिति श्रुतः ।
प्राच्यन्ते शौरपृष्ठस्य हिमकूटस्य दक्षिणे ॥
स्वर्णाद्रेरुत्तरे तत्र रत्नभूमिविराजिते ।
नानोद्यानसमाकीर्णे लङ्कानुकूलवातके ।
सुगन्धसुमनोवृक्षलताकुसुमशोभिते ॥
9b रमते इन्द्र आगत्य स्वर्गात् शच्या समं मुदा ।
एकदा रममाणेस्मिन् विहगाद्रौ सुरेश्वरि ॥
निर्गतो गह्वरे स्नातुं वशिष्ठः संशितव्रतः ।
प्रतिक्षरसमानन्तं स्त्रीभिः सार्द्धं शचीपतिम् ॥
निर्दहन्निव चक्षुर्भ्यां ज्वलन्तं तपसा मुनिः ।
यस्मान्ममाश्रमे साधु कृतस्तेलङ्काकलीला ॥
तस्मात्तत्र नृपयोषित् सुतरां वलिभिस्यति (?) ।
इति शप्त्वा ऋषी रत्नपृष्ठे न्यासं दृढव्रतम् ॥
नीलाचले तपस्तप्तुं गमिष्यति सुरेश्वरि ।
तत् तस्मात् शापसम्भूतिर्मानुष्यजन्महेतवे ॥
अथ शापवशो देवि सुरेशोऽज्ञानविह्वलः ।
दैत्यरूपी भवेन्मर्त्यः समक्षं दिव्ययोषिताम् ॥
इतस्ततो त्रपन्नापि ज्ञास्यस्यान्मानमद्रिजे (?) ।
पतिं मूकञ्च वधिरं वीक्ष्य दुःखान्तरं सति ॥
त्यक्ता प्रतीक्षाशापान्तं बालाभिः स्वर्गमेष्यति ।
अथ कश्चिदप्सरोवनिता दीर्घमूर्द्धजा ॥
नितम्बस्तनभाराभ्यामाक्रान्तमध्यविग्रहा ।
नतमध्यमनाशङ्का गौरी पूर्णेन्दुसुमुखी ॥
तां समीक्ष्याश्रमाभ्यासे कुतूहलोऽभवन्मना ।
दैत्यो वा मानवो वायं सुरो वाऽसुरो वा किमु ॥
मूकवधिराकारो भ्रमत्यवसितं कथम् ।
इति सम्भाष्यति तेन हर्षाकर्षितमानसा ॥
10a भ्रमन्तं साश्रमाभ्यासे कौतुके तमुपैष्यति ।
दैत्यरूपी सुरेशस्तु दृष्ट्वा कामकलार्दितः ॥
गृहीत्वोरौ वेशयित्वा कामतन्त्रमधीष्यति ।
कामबाणैः सुराधीश एवं कृत्वान्तरात्मना ॥

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उभयोः सङ्गमस्तत्र भविष्यति मनोरमः ।
इन्द्रो जातविवेकस्तां प्रत्याह शृणु वल्लभे ॥
नृपवसां कुरु भद्रे तव गर्भो भविष्यति ।
इत्युक्तेन्द्रे गते देवि सापि संहर्षहर्षिता ॥
धृतगर्भाधरादेवि पुत्रजाताऽभवन्निति ।
अथ कालवशात् देवि रुद्रांशे सौरितां गते ॥
महीवेदनभञ्चन्द्रे तस्मात् पुत्रो भविष्यति । [१०४१]
दिवि देवेषु कृत्स्नेषु वादित्रं वादयेत् सति ।
गन्धर्वैष्वतिगायत्सु नृत्यन्ति अप्सरासु च ॥
प्रसन्नाश्चाधिकं दिक्षु सरित्सु निर्मला सती ।
इन्द्रपुत्रस्तदा भूमौ गर्भादवतरिष्यति ॥
आकुञ्चितकचः सिंहवक्त्रग्रीवो महाभुजः ।
ऊर्द्ध्वरोमाकुलःश्रीमान् रक्तपाणितलेक्षणः ॥
तिलत्रयं दक्षभुजे शंखपद्मं तथा भवेत् ।
10b तिलत्रयं चोदरेऽपि वामेपि अङ्कुशं गदा ॥
विष्णुंशे शुक्रतां प्राप्ते महीमुनिनभोविधौ [१०७१] ।
स वराणां सुवर्णाद्रौ स्वामित्वमुपयास्यति ॥
तस्याष्टदश वै पुत्रा जनयन्ति सुतान् शतम् ।
राजबन्धुसमापन्नानिन्द्रवंशसमुद्भवान् ॥
एवमैन्द्रसमुत्पन्नाः प्रख्यातगुणपौरुषाः ।
शैले शैले तु ते सर्वे भविष्यन्ति नराधिपाः ॥
तेभ्यो जाताः सुता ये वै नानाशैलाधिपाः प्रिये ।
तेभ्यः प्रिये तु सञ्जातास्तेपि नानाद्रिपालकाः ॥
तेभ्यो जाताः पुत्रा रक्षन्ति हिरकाचलान् ।
स्वर्णाद्रिर्विहगाद्रिश्च सुतोन्यश्च महीधरान् ॥
तपःशैलं तत स्थानं आक्रम्य मानवो भवेत् ।
यावत्र सर्व्विपालिक्षा इन्द्रवंशसमुद्भवाः (?) ॥
शैलाक्षममनादृत्य शैलान्नायान्ति केचन ।
अथेन्द्रवंशसम्भूतः कश्चित् साक्षाद्विदिक्पतिः ॥
आजानुलम्बिताकारा वेल्लमानकुमस्तकाः ।
गौराङ्गपिङ्गकेशाख्या यस्य पाणौ यवाङ्कुशाः ॥

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दीर्घरेखाप्रदेशिनः पादाङ्गुष्ठपादाङ्गुलिः ।
मयाकृष्टपदः कख्य संख्यान्त भ्रातृभिः सह ॥
सप्तभिर्ज्ञातिभिस्तस्मात् शैलादवतरिष्यति ।
ततोपरः प्रतीच्याश्च वर्द्धद्वाभ्यां भवेन्नृपः (?) ॥
11a तत्राद्योऽरीन् विनाश्यैव प्रजानां पालयिष्यति ।
देशकालविभेदज्ञा उपशैलमचिन्तयन् ॥
रविचन्द्रांशसंयोगे मुनिमुनिद्विभूमिषु । [१२७७]
सौमारे स तु कामाय मन्त्रणान्तः करिष्यति ॥
सप्तभिः कोटिकाद्यैश्च तालिकाद्यैश्च सप्तभिः ।
सौगन्धिकसुखैश्चान्ये रोरात्रेचैव सप्तभिः ॥
तथापरे समस्तैस्तैः पूर्व्वशैलावतारितैः ।
मन्त्रयिष्यति ऐन्द्रीश आत्मतुल्य त्रिभिर्नरैः ॥
मण्डले संवधिष्यामि वशयित्वा इमाः प्रजाः ।
लोहित्यामुत्तरे स्थाप्य आक्रमिष्यामि मण्डलान् ।
इत्याभाष्य प्रजाः काश्चित् वशीकृत्य सुबुद्धिभिः ॥
किञ्चित् किञ्चित् जले स्थले आक्रमिष्यति भेदवित् ।
बुधचन्द्रांशयोगे तु तथाभिजित् तारके ॥
भविष्यति नृप कखः चतुर्व्वसुकरेभूमि । [१२८४]
इति हरगौरीसंवादे इन्द्रवंशः प्रथम नाम ॥

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तस्य पुत्रो महातेजाः प्रचण्डश्चरितोद्यमः ।
कृतस्तम्भवशीकर्म्म अनागतविधानवित् ॥
पार्श्वपृष्ठगलोपस्थ जवांकुशकरद्वयम् ।
अनामसमकनिष्ठो रक्तपाणिपदेक्षणः ॥
तान्तु प्रतिज्ञां सम्पूज्य प्रजासु लब्धमैत्रकः ।
राजनीतिविभेदज्ञः कृतानुज्ञोऽनुगैषितः ॥
ततोऽधिकं समाक्रम्य भूमिविध्वश्निपक्षके । [१२३१]
सौमारे भूभुजां जातिर्नात्र-कार्य्या विचारणा ॥
इन्द्रशास्त्रानुचारी स प्राप्तपुत्रत्रयो नृपः ।
पितुः प्रतिज्ञां पुत्रेषु चाख्याय स्वर्गमेष्यति ॥

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गते पितरि स्वर्गन्तु स्थाने स्थाने तु ते नृपाः ।
भविष्यति सुराधीशे पितुराज्ञां समाश्रितः ॥
तेषां मध्यगतः श्रेष्ठः प्रख्यातगुणपौरुषः ।
कर्णान्तर्गतनेत्रान्त आरक्तपाणिपादकः ॥
पूर्व्वाराधितगौरीशः सिंहग्रीवमहाभुजः ।
मुनिरसवेदभूमौ तस्य भूपौ भविष्यतः ॥ [१४६७]
समाराधितस्वर्गेशस्तद्वरेणात्मसम्भवः ।
पुत्रं महौजसं प्राप्य स्वयं पक्षत्वमेष्यति ॥
एकाशीत्यधिके शाके रत्नपृष्ठे सुरेश्वर ।
सौमारजनमाक्रम्य मन्त्रणात् पालतां व्रजेत् ॥ [१४८१]
तस्य पुत्रो महातेजाः प्रचण्डचरितोद्यमः ।
कृतस्तम्भवशीकर्म अनागतविधानवित् ।
पार्श्वपृष्ठगलोपस्थयवचक्रादिचिह्नितः ।
आजानुलम्बिताकारो रक्तपाणिपादेक्षणः ॥
अनामसमकनिष्ठा त्रिभिरेखा च लक्षिता ।
विधुभुक्तग्रहे शाके पंक्तिभुक्तदिवाकरे ।
गुणार्द्धतरसौभूमौ सौमारपीठभूमिषु ॥ [१२०९]

12a जीवांशेसूर्यतां प्राप्ते मकरे शुक्लपक्षके ।
चन्द्रे च पञ्चमे अंशे वचनो भूपतिर्भवेत् ॥
उदीच्यां ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य मण्डलेशान् समाक्रमात् ।
सौमारे भूभुजां जातिर्नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥
अष्टौ पुत्राः भविष्यन्ति महाबलपराक्रमाः ।
तेषां मध्ये गुणश्रेष्ठो राजनीतिपयोनिधिः ॥
नन्दविश्वभुवं प्राप्य तत्र भूपो भविष्यति । [१५१९]
शशिकालेषु पूर्णेन्दु सौमारपृष्ठभूमिषु ॥ [१५३१]
सुरेशान्वयसम्भूतष्ठूलो भूपो न मुञ्चति ।
तस्य पुत्र महातेजा विद्वान् मन्त्रिचयैर्वृतः ।
स्वदेशे सोप्यनादृत्य भूपतिभूपसमीहमीहया ॥
ततो जक्षो नृपो भावि भवेदन्तपयोनिधि ।
नन्दा मुनिषु भूमिषु कुजांशे सूर्यतां गते ॥ [१५७१]

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कामरूपजनान् सम्यक् आक्रमिष्यति भूपतिः ।
यदा स्वर्गशिलापातो उर्वसी जर्जरिभवेत् ॥
कालीक्षेत्रे कपिलीधारा यदा भूमौ चतुष्टयी ।
दिक्करेइ मुखे यावत् रक्तधारा सुवर्द्धिता ।
ब्रह्मपुत्रजलेनैव द्विमुनिं प्लावयेद् यदि ॥
तथा विश्वेश्वरं देवं तद्राज्ये सौरभञ्जनं ।
बुधांशे प्रथमे भागे महीषुवसुभूमिषु ॥ [१५८१]
तदा मनाम जवन आक्रामेत् पृथिवीमिमाम् ॥
गुणविश्वेषु भुमिषु कुजांशे सौरितां गते । [१६२१?]
तदा म नाम जवने याते स्वदेशात् सम्भविष्यति ॥
इति हरगौरीसंवादे इन्द्रवंश प्रथमः (? द्वितोयः) ॥

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12b मन्त्रिणोऽराजकभयात् इन्द्रवंशं विचार्य
नृपलक्षणसंचिह्नं लब्ध्वा पूर्वकुलोद्भवम् ।
तमधिष्ठापयिष्यन्ति सौमारे भौमशासनः ।
सर्वगुणसमुपेतः कृतानेकसुरक्रियः ।
पालयिष्यति सौमारं त्रयविशयुगं भवेत् ।
सप्ताशीत्यधिके शाके रुद्रांशे जीवतांगते ।
उन्मत्तो गुणवान् भूपो देवेशि सम्भविष्यति । [१५७१]
राजनीतिसमायुक्ता इन्द्रवंशसमुद्भवाः ।
चमसास्तु भविष्यन्ति नृपकामद्यश्रातुकाः ॥
तदा सौमारदेशीयभभुजां पुत्रतेजसाम् ।
एकच्छत्रसमकामाय एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ।
अतःपरन्तु राजानो नाममात्रास्तु केवलाः ।
नाशां नश्यन्ति ते सर्वे स्वपाद्यभेदसम्भवात् ॥
द्वितीयवचभूपस्य जाति नवति समाभवेत् ।
मन्त्रभेदो महीपालो सर्वलोकविनाशकृत् ॥
षोडशाब्दे शते शाके सौमारपृष्ठसम्भवात् । [१६००]
प्राग्ज्योतिषन्तु त्यक्ष्यन्ति भयादन्योन्युतः सुतः ॥
गुणविश्वरसे चन्द्रे ब्रह्मांशे सूर्यतां गते । [१६०६]
पिङ्गाख्य खर्वकेशश्च द्वौ भूपालौ भविष्यतः ॥

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चतुर्विश्वरसे चन्द्रे नभस्य गमने सति । [१६०४]
हनिष्यति महाम्लेछान् चलङ्क पश्चिमादितः ।

13a ब्रह्मपुत्रजलं रक्तसमाकीर्णं करिष्यति ।
तदा प्रतिजनान् देवि आक्रमिष्यति भूपतिः ॥
अस्मिन् काले महाभूमौ सौमाराणां सुवर्द्धिता ।
भविष्यति वरारोहे तपः पुण्यार्जितञ्च यत् ।
मणिशैले कृते तप्त्वा विप्रवर्ज्या अधर्मतः ।
सौमारभुवमासाद्य भविता गुणवान् नृपः ॥
अस्मिन् काले महातेजो भविता नृपवल्लभः ।
परभूपागमस्यापि परदेशा समागमाः ॥
ब्रह्मविंशा शकाब्दे तु कुजांशे सौरितां गते ।
मुनीन्दुरसपृथिवीं वरदादिर्भवेन्नृपः ॥ १६१७
महाशक्तिर्महोत्साहो भविष्यति तथा पुनः ।
कुजांशे सोम्यतां प्राप्ते वसुपाणिरसेन्दुषु ।
सौमारनृपतिर्हि वै हिडिम्बमाक्रमिष्यति । १६२८
नन्दाग्निरसशङ्कायां मैत्रं हिडम्बिभिर्भवेत् ।
जयन्तीशः पुनर्वैरं कर्तुं सौमारभूपतौ ॥ १६३९
विष्णुविंशे शकाब्दे तु कुजांशे सौरितां गते ॥
महाम्लेछान् विजानीयात् नानाजातिपरिच्छदान् ।
जवनाः खचरा सर्वे भिल्लसभूपसर्जिताः ॥
रत्नपीठाश्रयेणैव सौमारविजिगीषवः ।
कामरूपं समासाद्य भविष्यन्ति निवर्त्तिताः ॥

13b ततो दोषो भवेद्राजा यखा सखा दिगपतिः ।
पिङ्गाक्षखर्वकेशश्च यस्य पाणौ जवाङ्कुशम् ॥
सौमारलब्ध-मैत्री-स्यादाकृष्टदुर्य्यनेश्वरः ।
राजनीतिषु यो विद्वान् सुप्रजाः पालयिष्यति ॥
विष्णवंशे सूर्य्यतां प्राप्ते कुवेदकायभूमिषु । १६४१
भवेद्दोषो महीपालो पिङ्गाक्षगुणवारिधिः ॥
दससगरभादेशे सौमारभूमिपालकाः ।
भविष्यन्ति सुराधीशे कुखर्षि-पृथिवीमनु ॥ १७०१

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जवनानां क्षयं सर्वे करिष्यन्ति विशेषतः ।
ततः सौमारदेशीयाः कुवाचाः कृतसन्धयः ॥
करतोयानदीतीरे प्लावयिष्यति विग्रहम् ।
ततः कामप्रजाशोभा महीपालो विभेदतः ॥
विधिस्थितिमनादृत्य स्वपृष्ठभान भविष्यति ।
शृणु देवि सुराधीशे शाके ग्रहाधिके पुनः ॥ १७०९
रुद्रांशे समनुप्राप्ते पाश्चात्योऽन्यसंशितेः ।
हेडम्बप्रजया युक्तः महाम्लेच्छान्तरैस्तु सः ॥
जयन्तीपुरमासाद्य सौमारं विजयिष्यति ।
तत्र द्वादशवर्षाणि स्वर्गयित्वा तु तत् प्रजाः ॥
स्थाने स्थाने तु देवेशि नाशयेत् पीठदेवताः ।
रक्तधारा भविष्यन्ति दिक्करिणीमुखे यदा ॥
ब्रह्मपुत्रजलेनैव द्विमुनिं प्लावयिष्यति ।

14n तत्र तत्रैव देवेशि ऐशान्यां जवनक्षयः ॥
रुद्रांशे समनुप्राप्ते ब्रह्मांशे प्रथमे शके ।
लोहित्यमूलभूमिस्थः कमलो नाम नामतः ॥
महाबलसमायुक्तो महासैन्यसमन्वितः ।
आक्रमिष्यति सौमारं कामरूपसमन्वितम् ॥
स्थित्वा स्वर्णनदीतीरे करिष्यति महाधुरम् ।
सौमारपृष्ठप्राप्यर्थं धर्मस्थं पालयिष्यति ॥
ततस्तु कमलो राजा कामरूपं समाव्रजेत् ।
अश्वक्रान्ते महातीर्थे करिष्यति महाधुरम् ॥
नानादेवस्थलं शुद्धं कृत्वा धर्मविदां वरम् ।
वीक्षयित्वा पूजाधर्मान् स्थित्वा द्वादशवत्सरान् ॥
भैरव्यादिकसौमारं न्यस्य पौरन्दरेषु च ।
वह्नीन्दुसप्तभूमिषु पुनः स्वस्थानमेष्यति ॥ १७३१
ततः प्रभृति देवेशि भृङ्गारचारणावधि ।
दिक्करेशानदीं यावत् सुरेशान्वयसंस्थितिः ।
इति श्रीहरगौरीसंवादे इन्द्रवंशार्णवो नाम पटलः ॥

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An Image from Pirpahar, Monghyr

I.H.Q., Sept. 1942.

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MISCELLANY

On the Identification of an Image*

This is a stele of black stone the upper portion of which is curvilinear. Its height is 12″, breadth 7½″ and thickness 1″. It has a tenon which apparently fitted into a mortise and seems to have at one time found place in some temple. This was found in 1923 by some students of mine in the neighbourhood of my college when it was housed in the buildings of what was intended to be the Central Jail near Pirpahar. It lay in a neglected condition in an open abandoned place, receiving perhaps an occasional worship of individual villagers not far from the college. Its existence in the college was almost forgotten by me till a year ago.

The stele contains (on one surface only) carved images and is divided into three compartments by two intervening relief bands. The upper (arched) portion is slightly broken on the left, it contained a banded sheaf just above the six-petalled flower corresponding to that on the right of the central figure which is that of Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Jain Tīrthaṅkara. The Jina is recognised by his cognisance (*lāñchana*), the bull, in the band between two stūpas. He is seated upon a lotus in the *dhyānamudrā*. There is a circular halo (*bhāmaṇḍala*) round his head and a rectangular enclosing his body. Over the head there is the usual tee of three umbrellas (*chatratraya*). Unfortunately the face and the tree have been partially effaced. There are two chauri-bearers apparently Yakṣas. Between the rectangular halo and the chauri-bearers just above the lotus seat there is a four-petalled flower on each side. The band is in different levels. Just underneath the Jina there is his *Cingha* (emblem), the bull, flanked on two sides by two stūpas, the ends containing leafy decoration. Underneath the band there is a tree discovering a female figure issuing out in a seated position with her knees bended, and legs drawn up but hanging down (giving her a dangling appearance, or her hands clasping the string of a swing), her head and face lying between two branches and beneath another branch. To the proper right of the trunk of the tree is seated a male figure, his right leg lifted up in a bending position, the foot touching the seat, the left leg with the sole

* Read before the Archaeology section of the Eleventh All India Oriental Conference at Hyderabad in December, 1941.

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exposed pressing flat against the seat, his left hand resting on the bended knee. His right hand is lifted up holding a stalk of flower which reaches above the shoulder; his headdress and necklace are elaborate, there are two ear-pendants, an armlet round the elbow, the wearing apparel just covering the knees. The female figure is to the proper left of the tree seated in *lalitāsana* with her right leg hanging down just below the seat, her right hand resting on the knee, her left hand holding a babe seated on her bended knee and thigh, its left hand touching her left breast. The ornaments, the headdress (which like that of the male figure is made up into a knot looking like an *āmalaka*), the ear-pendant, the necklace, the armlet, the girdle, and the *sāri* are all elaborate. There is a circular halo round the heads of both the figures, also rectangular enclosing the body. At the bottom there are six seated figures with prominent belly and seem to be of the nature of *gaṇas*, but may be *grahas*. According to convention the number should be nine. More probably they are only worshippers. In many cases the number of such is eight (see Pl. XVII, fig. No. D. 7 *Vögel's Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*).

A certain scholar identified the figures at first sight to be those of Hārīti and Kuvera. Hārīti was originally a Yakṣī and a devourer of children; subsequently she became a benignant deity—a protectress of children, and is generally represented in sculpture with a child on her lap and surrounded by children.[1]

The male figure does not look like Kuvera. The figure of the Jina on top suggests that the figures are sāsanadevatās, Yakṣa and Yakṣī. But whose? The Jina is undoubtedly Ādinātha or Ṛṣabhanātha. His śāsana-devatās are Yakṣa Gomukha (with bull's face) and Yakṣī Cakreśvarī. These figures do not look like them. The only śāsanadevatā who is credited with carrying a child on her lap and caressing (or being attended by) another is Ambikā Devī, the Yakṣī of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara (whose cognisance is a conch). Then there are other difficulties. Her vehicle is a lion, which is absent here. She is usually attended by two children, only one is here. But there are departures also from convention. In Fig. 5 of the *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā*[2] both the *vāhana*

1 Fig. 30 on p. 116 of *Cat. of Arch. Museum, Mathura* and *Journal of Indian Art*, vol. VIII, no. 62, Pl. IV, fig. 2 quoted in footnote.

2 By Mr. Umanath P. Shah, M.A., published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, vol. IX, pt. 2, September, 1940, a reprint of which was kindly given

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and the second son are missing. In fig. 1 only one child is shown. The tree looks like Aśoka, (or *Kalpavṛkṣa*?) though perhaps it may be taken for mango (cf. the tree in fig. 4 of the article quoted above).

In the Ambikā-Devī-kalpa of Jinaprabhasūri's *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, a legendary account of her origin is given.

She was the wife of a Brāhmaṇa named Soma. They had two children named Siddha and Buddha.[3] Once Ambikā fed a muni with dishes prepared for Brahmins who were invited to the *śrāddha* of Soma's ancestor. At his mother's instigation Soma drove her out with the two children. On her way she found a dried mango tree which revived (by miracle) and supplied her and her children with ripe mangoes. She rested under the tree. Soma relented and came to fetch her. But she mistook his intentions and being afraid of persecution threw herself and her children into a well and died. She is therefore represented in sculpture as sitting or standing beneath a mango tree and holding a bunch of mangoes in her hand with her two children and seated upon (or standing upon or attended by) a lion who was none other than her former husband Soma.

It seems to me that the suggestion of the lion as her vehicle was undoubtedly taken from the Hindu legend wherein the goddess Ambikā has the lion for her vehicle. The Prākṛt form of Ambikā being Ambiṇī, popular etymology was at work and associated her with mango tree, bunches of mango-fruit, and even with the name Āmrā as will be evident from her *stavas*, e.g.

(a) *Kamrāmalumbi* hṛtpāṇiratr Āmbā.....
(*Ujjayanta stava*, V. 13)

(b) Kurvanpurah praguṇitaṃ *sahakāralumbimAmbe*.....
(*Jaina stotra samuccaya*, pp. 143-44)

(c) *Siṃhe bhartṛcare* sthitam haritābhāmāmradrumacchāyagāṃ Vaṃdāruṃ daśakārmukocchrayajinaṃ *devīmihĀmrām* yaje-
Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra of Āśādhara, p. 176.

(d) Dvibhujā siṃhamārūḍhā *Āmrādevī* haritprobhā—*Pratiṣṭhābāna-saṃgraha* (of Vasunandi), ch. V, verse 59

to me by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, which I visited in December, 1940. This is a very well written article. The ślokas quoted here are taken therefrom.

3 Priyaṃkara and Śubhaṃkara according to another version.

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(e) The text of the *Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa* (App. 19, p. 92) gives the following mūlamantra of Ambikā:—

Oṃ hrīm Āmrā Kuṣmāṇḍinī! hsklhīṃ namaḥ.

(According to the Digambara version Ambikā is Kuṣmāṇḍī, Kuṣmāṇḍinī or Kohamḍī)

Ambikā is the śāsana-Yakṣī of Neminātha. In this piece of sculpture however the Jina is Ṛsabhanātha. Mr. Shah has discovered such anomaly. He writes (p. 165):

"But when she is associated with another Tīrthaṃkara like Ṛsabhadeva, a complex problem arises," and makes a reference to a few such anomalous figures: e.g.

(1) Ādinātha from Kaṅkātī Tilā, Mathura, now in the Provincial Musuem, Lucknow, on the right of the Jina is represented Ambikā instead of his Yakṣī Cakreśvarī, (2) figure 33, a brass image of Ādinātha in a Jain temple in Sādaḍī in Jodhpur (10th cent.), (3) figure 34, Ādinātha with Yakṣa Gomukha, but Yakṣī, Ambikā (11th cent.).

Mr. Shah asks: "What is the reason for this unwarranted association of Ambikā with Ādinātha instead of Neminātha, the regular Tīrthaṅkara prescribed in the texts? Is it due to a mistake on the part of the sculptor? It can hardly be so, since such irregularities are seen on pedestals of stone images of Mallinātha (nineteenth Jina) and Śāntinātha (sixteenth Jina), dated V.S. 1300 and 1200 respectively. The problem requires deeper investigation."

It would not be proper therefore to hazard an answer, it might be that the artist (who was of a later date, in our case the sculpture seems to be of the 11th century) wanted to break away from the monotony imposed by textual strictness and introduced a variety by breaking loose from tradition.

The most interesting feature of our sculpture is the goddess issuing out of the tree. The Yakṣī is associated with trees. There are numerous stories alluding to the indwelling spirits of trees (cf. the Pāli-Buddhistic Jātakas). The spirits were generally regarded to be female, giving rise to the "woman and tree" motif in sculpture. The trees were therefore associated with fertility. This belief has been coming down from a very ancient time. Dr. Coomaraswamy writes: "Behind the pale of Aryan orthodoxy and its tendency to abstract symbolism there lay an extensive and deeprooted system of popular belief and cults and a decided tendency to anthropomor-

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phic presentation. These popular beliefs implied an iconography such as we actually find at Bharhut of Yakṣas and Nāgas, Devatās and Vṛkṣakas, Earth- and Mother-goddesses and divinities of fertility. Gradually all these found their place in theistic Hinduism and Buddhism which were not purely Aryan but Indian.....India offered no exception to the general rule that a higher or developing religion absorbs, embodies and preserves the types and rituals of older cults without destroying them....."[4]

Sir John Marshall in his *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization* dwells at length on the epiphany of the deity in the tree (e.g. on p. 63 pl. XII fig. 18 where between two branches the deity appears, a standing nude figure.....). He says (page 65) "of two forms of worship at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa—(1) tree itself worshipped in its natural form, and (2) tree spirit personified and endowed with human shape and attributes. This is precisely what we find also in the sculptures of Bharhut and Sañcī and others of the early Indian schools, but there is this difference that, whereas in the later monuments the tree spirit appears in a subordinate role as a dryad (Yakṣī or Yoginī), in the earlier she seems to have been already elevated to the position of an important goddess. Tree worship was a characteristic of the pre-Aryan, not of the Aryan population."[5]

In other countries, e.g., ancient Egypt the same belief prevailed, e.g. Hathor dwelt in the sycamore fig tree. See also Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, p. 90: "The coin of Myra, showing a goddess emerging from the split trunk of a tree, is of the Imperial period, but preserves an ancient legend and an archaic idol type", also his *Cult of the Greek States* (vol. II, Pl. XXIX, p. 523): "On a coin of Myra we see the primitive figure of Artemis-Aphrodite appearing in the midst of a cleft trunk (coin pl. B. 29) from which two serpents are starting, the symbol of Earth goddess, and a coin of Perge she appears to be holding a fir-apple, the wild trees being closely associated with her." We have traces among the monuments of the early cult-type of the divinity of the tree—the divinity of vegetation. Artemis was also associated with lion.

4 Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 46, see figures 73, 74, 75, 81 (over the head tree with branches and flowers, child on left lap), 118, (coin), 129 and figure of Hāriti on p. 54. Cf. f.n. 1 on p. 64 where I am quoted (*Music and Dance in Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* published in *JBORS*.).

5 Cf. figs. 13 and 14 of pl. 12.

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It seems that Ambikā Devī was a very popular deity as she was frequently invoked for aid, or she warned her votaries in dreams and so forth. From the western extremity of India to eastern her images are found. In the jungles of Khadi Pargana in the Sundarban region some Jain images were discovered amongst which was found that of Ambikā Devī in bronze along with four other bronze images. Mr. Kalidas Dutt writing in the *Bhāratvarṣa* of Āśvin, B.S. 1336, calls her Hārīti but it seems from the photograph given on page 570 that she is Ambikā Devī (the middle figure). She stands under an arched creeper rising from the pedestal on her extreme left and going round over her head in foliage. Two mangoes are seen on the creeper entwining the stem. She holds the babe in her left hand which passes behind its back and rests on her waist. The other hand hangs down her side holding between the thumb and forefingers a bunch of mangoes. On her right stands a boy attached to the main figure by the scarf of the goddess touching its head. The boy has lost its right hand, his left foot resting on the main pedestal and his right on a projection. The goddess stands on a lotus supported on a carved stool. She wears a *sari* worn tightly and reaching down to her ankle, a number of bangles on her fore arms and ornaments on the elbow and neck. There seems to be a lion seated on the pedestal on the left between the lotus and the stem.

KALIPADA MITRA

The Paramāra Udayāditya

The Paramāras established themselves in Mālava in the early years of the ninth century. Sīyaka II was the first independent king of the dynasty. He was succeeded by his sons Muñja and Sindhurāja one after the other. Sindhurāja's son and successor was Bhoja. Bhoja was succeeded by Jayasiṃha, whose known dates are A.D. 1055 and 1059. After the death of Jayasiṃha, Udayāditya got the sovereignty of Mālava. I supported the view of Prof. Kielhorn that Udayāditya was a distant relation of Bhoja.[1] Recently this view has been criticised by some scholars.[2] They say that the statement of the Nagpur stone inscription that Udayāditya was a *bandhu* of Bhoja does not necessarily mean that the former was a distant relation of the latter. Because the word *bandhu* means also a brother. The

1 Author's *'History of the Paramāra Dynasty'* p. 131 ff.
2 Ray's *Dynastic History*, II, 876; Prof. V. V. Mirashi, *EI.*, XXVI, 184.

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Jainad inscription[3] of Udayāditya's son Jagaddeva states that Bhoja was a *pitṛvya* (paternal uncle) of Jagaddeva. The Dongargram inscripttion[4] of Jagadeva lays down that Udayāditya was a *bhrātā* (brother) of Bhoja. So it is definite, according to these scholars, that Udayāditya was a uterine brother of Bhoja.

'*Bandhu*' ordinarily means a relation.[5] It also means a brother. '*Bhrātā*' and '*pitṛvya*' ordinarily mean a brother and a paternal uncle respectively. But '*bhrātā* also denotes a near relative or an intimate friend, and *pitṛvya* signifies any elderly male relation.[6] Jayapāla was a cousin of the Pāla Devapāla. The Bhagalpur inscription[7] mentions that Jayapāla was a *bhrātā* of Devapāla. So it will be wrong to conclude on the strength of the evidence of Jainad and Dongargram inscriptions that Udayāditya was a uterine brother of Bhoja.

The Udepur inscription[8] of the time of Udayāditya draws the genealogy of the Paramāra kings from Upendra, the founder of the dynasty, to Udayāditya. It mentions carefully the relation subsisting between the kings from Upendra to Bhoja. But curiously it does not mention anything about Udayāditya's relation with Bhoja. This is significant. The Nagpur praśasti[9] of Udayāditya's son Naravarman states that Udayāditya was a *bandhu* of Bhoja, and Naravarman was a *bhrātā* of Lakṣmadeva. An inscription[10] of the fifteenth century from Udepur relates that the Paramāra Udayāditya's father was Gyāta. Consideration of all these points may tempt one to suggest that Udayāditya was a distant relation of Bhoja. But no definite conclusion should be drawn on the subject till the name of Udayāditya's father is known from a contemporary record.

The Nagpur stone inscription[11] relates that "when he (Bhoja) had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign (*svāmini*) was submerged, his relation, Udayāditya, became king. Uplifting the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇa, who, joined by the Karṇāṭas, was like the mighty ocean, he acted like the holy Boar." I pointed out elsewhere that Karṇa,

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7 *IA.*, XV, 304, v. 6.
8 *El.*, I, 233.
9 *El.*, II 192.
10 Author's *Hist. Param.*,
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11 *El.*, II, 192

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referred to, was the Caulukya king of this name, who ruled the Gurjara country from 1064 A.D. to 1092 A.D.[12] This view has been supported by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.[13] But Dr. H. C. Ray and Prof. V. V. Mirashi do not find their way to support it.[14] Prof. Mirashi formerly held that the battle between Udayāditya and Karṇa took place about 1059 A.D., when the Caulukya Karṇa did not ascend the throne. But of late he has realised his error and has accepted my suggestion that the battle took place during the reign of the Cālukya Someśvara II, i.e. about 1070 A.D.[15] He, however, thinks that Karṇa, referred to, was the Kalacuri Karṇa. The evidence on which this identification is based is a statement of the Udepur praśasti, which reports that Udayāditya crushed down the power of the lord of Ḍāhala.[16] Kalacuri Karṇa and his son Yaśaḥkarṇa were contemporaries of Udayāditya. So it is not definite whether the Kalacuri Karṇa was the adversary of Udayāditya.

The Gujarat chroniclers Arisiṃha[17] and Someśvara mention about Caulukya Karṇa's conflict with the king of Mālava. Someśvara states that Karṇa overran the territory of the king of Dhārā.[18] The name of the king of Mālava, who was the adversary of the Caulukya Karṇa, is known from the Pṛthvirāja-vijaya. It states that Udayāditya by defeating Gurjara Karṇa obtained Mālava.[19] So there cannot be any ground of doubt that Karṇa, mentioned in the Nagpur stone inscription, is identical with Karṇa, the king of the Gurjara country.

D. C. Ganguly

12 *Hist. Paṛam.*, 131.

13 *List*, p. 291 fn. 4. *El.*, XXIV, 107 fn.; XXVI, 184.

14 *Dyn. Hist.*, II, 876. 15 *Hist. Param.*, 128.

16 *El.*, XXVI, 184; Merutuṅga in his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that the Kalacuri Karṇa in alliance with the Caulukya Bhima I took possession of Mālava. This occupation of Mālava took place immediately after the death of Bhoja on or before 1055 A.D.

17 *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana*, Sarga II, v. 23.

18 *Surathotsava*, kavi-praśasti, v. 20.

19 Sarga, V, v. 78. Mālaven Odayādityena.....jigāya Gūrjaraṃ Karṇaṃ tamaśvaṃ prāpya Mālavah.....

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The North West Frontier Tribes under Ranjit Singh's Sway in 1837

(based on the records in the Imperial Record Dept.).

The year 1837 is very significant in the history of Sikh rule in the North West Frontier region. On the 30th April that year, by a surprise attack at Jamrud, Dost Muhammad succeeded in killing Hari Singh, the flower of Sikh chivalry, the Murat of the Sikh army. This incident must have considerably shaken the prestige of Ranjit among the frontier tribes. But the British records do not convey such an impression. On the other hand, we are told by Wade that Sikh rule was characterised by the same moderation as before. Ranjit Singh, cool and calculating, refused to be hustled by any sudden reverse from the pursuit of a fixed policy.

A long letter, written by Wade in October 1837 to the Secretary to the Government of India supplies us with illuminating details relating to the extent of Sikh sway beyond the Indus. Wade arrived at Ludhiana, as the agent of the British Government in June 1823, and in his paper he is emphatic in his assertion that he could vouch for the accuracy of his notes from his own observations. The account of Wade is more detailed than that of Burnes, the diplomat, adventurer and explorer, whose letter included in the political proceedings, 11th September 1837, supplied some of the information on which Wade based his paper.

The first irruption made by the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh on the right bank of the Indus was in 1819-20. On the left bank of the Indus, Payandah Khan, an Afghan Chief rose up in arms against Ranjit Singh after his occupation of the fort of Attock in 1812-13. Failing to expel the Sikhs from his territory, he withdrew to Amb in the Yusufzai country on the right bank of the Indus whence he carried on his activities against the Sikhs.

The Yusufzais on the right bank of the Indus were divided into seven tribes. Some of their lands extended towards the plains of Peshawar, while the rest were situated in the hills north of Amb. These tribes and their Chiefs in 1837 were the following:—Kamalzai (Chief Ahmad Khan); Almanzai, Imailzai and Daulatzai (Chief Nasirulla Khan); Razai (Chief Lashkar Khan); Khuda Khel (Chief Fateh Khan who had given shelter to Syed Ahmad); Omar Khel (Chief Arsola Khan); Aba Khel (Omar Khan).

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Fateh Khan of the Khuda Khel tribe was attacked by Hari Singh Nalwa in 1836, and was compelled to sign an agreement for tribute. After the battle of Jamrud and the death of Hari Singh Nalwa, Golab Singh was sent along with Avitabile to restore the shaken authority of Ranjit Singh among those people.

The territory of Peshawar was formed beside the city and adjacent lands of the districts of Kotilla, Thakal, Hariana, Shabqadar, Hastnagar, Akora and Kohat. The Mohmands were in possession of Kotilla, the Khalils of Thakal, the Daodzai of Hariana, the Ghogliane of Shabqadar, the Mahmudzai of Hashtnagar and the Khattaks of Akora. The Mohmand Chief would not yield obedience to the Sikhs but some of the Maliks or heads of villages did. The Chief of the Khalils took refuge in the Khyber from which, parties of his people issued at night to attack the Sikhs. The Daodzai Cheifship had become extinct. These people living within 4-5 miles of the city had to be submissive but were ready like the rest to take advantage of any reverse of fortune to the Sikhs. The Ghogliane were in occupation of the territory called Doaba which was assigned by the Sikhs along with Hashtnagar and Kohat in Jagir to the ex-Chiefs of Peshawar. The Mahmudzais were without a leader. The Khattak Chief was the first to feel the weight of Sikh arms on the other side of the Indus, and the territory occupied by them was most submissive to the Sikhs. They were held in complete control by Sikh garrisons in Attock and Khairabad with Peshawar in the west.

Between Kalabagh and Attock, the country was not fully penetrated by the Sikhs. In that region the tribes on the right bank of the river were not so thoroughly subdued by the Sikhs. The territory on the left bank upto Hasan Abdal was under the direct control and authority of Ranjit Singh's officers. With the numerous families in that region the Sikhs made annual settlements separately and effectually in the most peaceful manner,

The hills in the quarter of Kalabagh and Isakhel were very arid. Above Kalabagh there was rich vegetation and abundance of water. Sardar Fateh Singh who was sent in 1837 to coerce Ahmad Khan, Chief of Isa Khel succeeded in subjugating him completely.

The chief importance of Bannu, Tank Marwat consisted in the fact that they commanded a direct road to Kabul from the Punjab plains through that region. When Dera Ismail Khan was finally annexed in 1836, it opened to the Sikhs an opportunity of projecting military opera-

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tions in that quarter. Tank, Bannu, Marwat and Dera Ismail Khan formed the Jagir of Nao Nihal Singh, whose policy was to attach the Afghans to his interest by taking many of them into his own service. According to Burnes and some other observers, family complications facilitated the annexation of Ḍera Ismail Khan. The Chief himself welcomed it because a large portion of his territory was absorbed in the payment of pensions to relatives and retainers of his father. They defied him and as he was largely dependent on them for the payment of his tribute to the Maharaja he failed. He was glad to escape from the insolence of his vassals and the demand of the Sikh state. Wade however emphasises the military aspect of the annexation. Wade's comment is a tribute to the moderation of the Sikh rule in the N.W. He wrote, "The Sikh garrison at Dera Ghazi Khan and Mithankot do not exceed 500 men. The paucity of troops maintained by the Sikhs in such an extent of newly acquired country is the clearest evidence of the effect of their rule in tranquillising and subduing the insurrectionary spirit of the Chiefs in the Derajat."

N. K. Sinha

A Note on the Mathurā Inscription of Candra Gupta II

The Mathurā inscription of Candra Gupta II, dated in the Gupta year, 61, has been published in the *Epigraphia Indica*[1] by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. In a number of points regarding the reading and interpretation of the record, my views differ widely from those of Dr. Bhandarkar. I therefore place my observations before scholars for their consideration.

Dr. Bhandarkar's reading of the date portion of the record runs: *Śrī-Candraguptasya vija[ya**] -ra(rā)jya saṃvatsa[re] ...[Gupta] -kāl-ānuvarttamāna-saṃvatsare eka-ṣaṣṭhe* 60 1 (lines 2-4).[2] He remarks, "It is rather unfortunate that the important words in lines 3-5 which contain the details of the date have been effaced. The first part of it tells us to what regnal year of Candragupta this date corresponds. It is a serious loss that this part has not been preserved. The second part tells us to what *kāla* or era the year 61 belonged. It seems to be certain that *Gupta-kāla* is meant."[3]

1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXI, p. 1ff.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 8.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

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It may however be pointed out that there are traces of five *akṣaras* between *tsa* and *kā;* but that none of them has any resemblance with *akṣaras* like *gu* or *pta.*[3a] The first of the five damaged *akṣaras* is no doubt *re,* and in the fourth of them I find a quite clear *ma.*[4] A *ca* is again to be clearly noticed in the slightly effaced third *akṣara.* The second *akṣara* at first looks like *sa;* but a careful observation shows that it is a *pa* with its lower right part damaged. What is however most interesting is that there are clear traces of the upper part of a *hu*-like *akṣara* immediately before *kālā°;* this *akṣara* appears to be no other than the symbol for 5. To me therefore the date portion of the Mathurā inscription seems to read *Śrī-Candraguptasya vija*[**ya*]*-rājya-saṃvatsa*[**re*] [*paṃ*] *cam*[**e*] [5] *kāl-ānuvarttamāna-saṃvatsare eka-ṣaṣṭhe* (*ṣṭhet*) 60 1. The record is thus dated in the fifth regnal year of Candra Gupta II and in the year 61 of the Gupta era, corresponding to A.D. 380. The first year of this king's reign would correspond to the Gupta year 57 = A.D. 376-77. The date is very important as it not only shows the beginning of Candra Gupta's rule, but also points to the end of the reign of his father Samudra Gupta. Of course the so-called historical drama, the *Devī-candragupta,*[5] places the reign of Rāma Gupta between the death of Samudra Gupta and the accession of Candra Gupta II. But, like the *Mudrārākṣasa*[6] and similar other, classical Sanskrit dramas dealing with historical or quasi-historical character, the *Devī-candragupta* certainly has a considerable amount of fiction, and later traditions referring to the story of Rāma Gupta may have actually drawn upon the drama itself. The existence of the rule of a Gupta king named Rāma Gupta between the reigns of Samudra Gupta and Candra Gupta II therefore can be hardly regarded as certain in the present state of our knowledge, especially in view of the fact that the Gupta records so far discovered do not

3a Dr. Bhandarkar admits (*op. cit.*, p. 3) that the word has been conjecturally supplied in the text.

4 This *akṣara* is of a slightly larger size; but that is also the case with *mā* in *varttamāna.*

5 *JBORS.*, vol. XIV, pp. 223-53; vol. XV, p. 134f.

6 As has been rightly remarked by Keith (*Sanskrit Drama,* p. 205n), the historical basis of the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* "must be regarded as very dubious." There are many palpable anachronisms and absurdities; compare, e.g., the Hūṇas in Indian politics during the time of Candragupta Maurya, the Pārasika or Persian king given the name Meghanāda and made a contemporary of the same king, etc., etc.

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give the slightest hint about the new figure.[7] As matters stand, it is possible to suggest that Samudra Gupta died in the Gupta year 57 = A.D. 376-77 and was succeeded by Candra Gupta II. As regards the beginning of Samudra Gupta's reign, it is generally placed in *circa* 330 A.D. But it may be noted that if the Nālandā and Gayā copper-plates dated respectively in the year 5 and in the year 9 are supposed to have been forged to replace two genuine records of Samudra Gupta with the above dates, we have to believe that the Gupta era started from the first regnal year of Samudra Gupta, and not from the coronation of Candra Gupta I, as is usually believed.[8] It must however be admitted that this would give a rather unusually (though not absurdly) long reign-period of 135 years (instead of the generally accepted 125 years) for three generations of kings, viz. Samudra Gupta, Candra Gupta II and Kumāra Gupta I.

Dr. Bhandarkar's translation of the passage *bhagavat-Kapilavimala-śiṣya-śiṣyeṇa bhagavad-Upamitavimala-śiṣyen āryy-Oditāryyeṇa* is as follows: "Ārya Uditācārya.....a stainless disciple's disciple of Bhagavat Upamita and a stainless disciple of Bhagavat Kapila.' The text however shows that Uditācārya was a disciple of Upamita who was in his turn a disciple of Kapila. Moreover, instead of taking *vimala* as a separate word, I am inclined to believe that the names of the teachers were Upamitavimala and Kapilavimala.[9] As regards the title *bhagavat*, Dr. Bhandarkar remarks, "Upamita and Kapila, being descendants of Kuśika, must have been experts in the Pāśupata *yoga*. We have therefore to presume that they too must have passed away like the *yogins* by driving away their *prāṇa-vāyu* through the *brahmarandhra*. They must have thereby merged themselves into the godhead of Śiva. This alone can explain why all these departed ascetics of the Lakulī sect have received

7 See Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 465n. It has been rightly said that "the *Devī-candragupta* and similar works are as much unsuited to form bases of the chronicles of Candra Gupta II as the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* and the *Aśokāvadāna* are in regard to the doings of the great Maurya".

8 Persons who forged the Gayā and Nālandā grants about two centuries after Samudra Gupta apparently believed that he was the founder of the Gupta era. Prof. Raychaudhuri thinks it possible to suggest that the Gupta era started from the coronation of Mahārāja Gupta, grandfather of Candragupta I.

9 The names of the Liṅgas, viz. *Upamiteśvara* and *Kapileśvara* do not prove anything. Note, *e.g.*, that a person named Pṛthiviseṇa gave the Liṅga established by him the name Pṛthiviśvara (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, p. 72).

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the divine title of *bhagavat*. The teacher Uditācārya who is still living and who is not yet absorbed into Śiva is not, and in fact, cannot, be honoured with this supreme title." It was however only natural and proper for Uditācārya who avowedly wrote the Mathurā record "not for his own glorification" (lines 10-11) that he applied the title or epithet *bhagavat* to the names of his superiors and not to that of his own. This word alone is not sufficient to prove that both Upamita and Kapila were dead when the record was engraved.

In lines 10-14, Dr. Bhandarkar's reading with proper marks of punctuation would be as follows: *n=aitat=khyāty-artham=abhilikhyate.* [*atha**] *m*[**ā*]*heśvarāṇāṃ vijñaptih=kriyate/sambodhanaṃ ca yathā-kāten=āchāryyāṇāṃ/"parigraham=iti* (*°haḥ iti*) *matvā viśaṅkaṃ pūjā-puraskāraṃ parigraha-pāripālyaṃ kuryyād=iti* (*°ryyuḥ iti*)"/*vijñaptir=iti*/He translates the above passage in the following words: "(*It is*) not written for my own fame, but for beseeching the worshippers of Maheśvara. And it is an address to (*those who are*) the *Ācāryas* for the time being. Thinking them to be (*their own*) property, they should preserve, worship and honour (*them*) as (*their own*) property. This is the request".[10] Dr. Bhandarkar thus translates *yathākālen=ācāryyānāṃ* as "to those who are Ācāryas for the time being." But *yathā-kalaḥ* usually means "proper time", and *yathā-kālena=yathā-kālaṃ* would mean "in proper time, in due course." I am therefore inclined to interpret the passage quite differently. Correcting the two textual mistakes indicated above and supplying proper marks of punctuation the text as proposed by me would stand: *n=aitat=khyāty-artham=abhilikhyate; atha māheśvarāṇāṃ vijñaptih=kriyate sambodhanaṃ ca/"yathākālen=āchāryyāṇāṃ parigrahaḥ* (*=parigrahaḥ bhavishyati*) *iti matva viśaṅkaṃ pūjā puraskāraṃ parigraha-pāripālyaṃ kuryyuḥ* (*=kuryyuḥ māheśvarāḥ*) *iti*"/*vijñaptir=iti*/ My translation would be: It is not written for my own glory; but it is a request and an address to the worshippers of Maheśvara. Knowing that (*this gurvāyatana would become*) the property of the Ācāryas (*viz. Upamita and Kapila*) in due course of time, (*the worshippers of Maheśvara belonging to Mathurā*) should without fear protect the property (*of the Ācāryas*) and offer worship. This is the request."

It appears to me that Uditācārya built a temple-residence (*gurvāyatana*) for his teacher Upamitavimala and teacher's teacher Kapilavimala. Therein

10 *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

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he established two Liṅgas of Śiva. The lower part of the Liṅga-shaft called *Upamiteśvara* was so shaped as to represent the figure of Upamita, while the figure of Kapila was made in the lower part of the other Liṅga called *Kapileśvara*. Apparently the teachers were represented as bearing a Liṅga on the head. It also seems that the *gurvāyatana* and the Liṅgas were finished; but the teachers Upamita and Kapila were not coming to stay there just then. Uditācārya therefore requested the local Śaivas to take charge of them. They are requested to do that without fear, that is to say, fear of molestation and of being turned out even when the Ācāryas would come to stay there.[11]

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

11 After the present note had been completed, my attention was drawn to Mr. D. B. Diskalkar's paper published in *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XVIII, pp. 166-70. This scholar suggested the reading *prathame*, with a query, in place of *paṃcame* as read by me. I am glad to note that he rightly guessed the first and third *akṣaras* of the word. The clear traces of 5 however show that the true reading is *paṃcame*. 11

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REVIEWS

INTRODUCTION TO ARDHAMĀGADHĪ by A. M. Ghatage, M.A., Ph.D., Rajaram College, Kolhapur. Second revised edition, 1941. Pages, Double Crown 16mo. i-xii + 1-254.

Ardhamāgadhī,—the sacred language of the Jains,—which occupies a prominent place among the various Prakrit speeches, does not appear to have received as much attention at the hands of scholars as it so amply deserves on account of its antiquity and wealth of literature enshrined in it. Different works on the Prakrits make only passing and necessarily very insufficient references to it. Independent works dealing with its structure, origin and development in a comprehensive manner are still a desideratum. So any critical analysis of the language will be welcome to scholars interested in the Prakrits. Grateful thanks are therefore due to Dr. Ghatage for bringing out this handy volume which gives a short but illuminating account of the grammatical peculiarities of Ardhamāgadhī. It makes a general survey without any special reference to different stages of the language. The learned author, of course, mentions *en passant* (p. 3) the 'older and younger phases of the language' but the characteristic features of them are not indicated even in a small scale as is done by Woolner in his *Introduction to Prakrit*, a valuable work which unfortunately is nowhere referred to in the present volume.

The book is divided into three parts: Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and Compounds. Each part is sub-divided into several chapters, lessons or sections. There are three appendices: a grammatical summary which puts together, for ready reference, in the form of charts the phonetic peculiarities and grammatical forms already described in the body of the book; and two glossaries one of Ardhamāgadhī-English words and the other of English-Ardhamāgadhī words.

The arrangement of topics, specially in the section of Morphology, seems to be a bit confusing. Portions of declension and conjugation are jumbled up together in the same chapter while the treatment of Pronouns is spread over several chapters each of which has a portion reserved for the description of some aspects of conjugation.

A number of inaccuracies and obscurities were noticed. In Article 150 *dharman* and *artha* are recorded as Sanskrit words in the neuter gender,

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but the source of this statement is neither indicated or known, at least in classical Sanskrit. It is not clear if the words *vibi* and *sandhi* are correct even with long final vowels, though both the forms are noted in different connections (Art. 199, 234). It is not pointed out as to why the declensional forms recorded in small types (Art. 226, 299) are not included in the paradigms. Definite indications are necessary for younger students, for whom the book, it is stated, is principally intended. But it may be hoped the value of the book will be increased if defects like the few mentioned above are removed when the next edition comes to be compiled.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE SŪKTIMUKTĀVALĪ of Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LXXXII. Edited with an introduction in Sanskrit by Embar Krishnamacharya, Sanskrit Pathashala, Vadtal. Oriental Institute, Baroda.

This is one of the earliest anthological works in Sanskrit. The date of composition is definitely given in one of the concluding verses as 1179 Ś.E. or 1257 A.D. The name of the author, as recorded in the introductory portions of the work, is Jalhaṇa, commander of the elephant troops of the Yādava prince Kṛṣṇa. The concluding verses, however, refer to Bhānu or Bhāskara as the author, who is stated to have composed the work on behalf of Jalha. Strangely enough there is no reference to the exact relation existing between the Jalhaṇa-family and Bhānu who is expressly stated to be the author of the introductory verses as well as a number of other verses included in the work and possibly of the concluding verses. According to the learned editor Bhānu composed the work to placate his master (?) Jalhaṇa. It is apparently supposed that Jalha is nothing but an abbreviated form of Jalhaṇa. Though the date of composition is in favour of the identification, the identity of the name with that of a brother of the great grandfather of Jalhaṇa is rather suspicious. The use by Jalhaṇa of the epithet Bhagadatta earned by Jalha for his exploits, without any mention of the fact in the genealogical account appears to be a bit curious. It is not known if a critical analysis of available manuscripts will throw any light on the above points. Unfortunately however the available manuscript material has not, it seems, been properly utilised for the present

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edition. The edition is stated to have been based on the collation of five manuscripts, two of which are manuscripts of a work called *Sūktimuktāvalīsaṃgraha*. The exact relation between this work and the °*muktāvalī* is not clearly indicated. It may not unlikely contain a shorter version referred to by R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the years 1887-1891*, and noticed in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Madras Oriental Library* (XX. 12141). In the absence, however, of a critical account of the known and accessible manuscripts of the work no definite conclusion can possibly be reached in the matter. It is a matter of regret that no description is given even of the few manuscripts that have been collated. The characteristic features of none of them are therefore known. There is also no indication as to why particular manuscripts were selected to the exclusion of others. For instance, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute it is stated, possesses two manuscripts of the °*saṃgraha* but no reason is given for the preference and use of one of the two for the edition. The symbol used for this particular manuscript again is nowhere indicated and it is only by the rule of elimination that one infers that the intended symbol is घ.

As regards the merit of the actual work of collation it is difficult to give an opinion without consulting the manuscripts. But this much is clear that no reference is made to the portions omitted in the °*saṃgraha* which, as the editor says, consists of a selection of verses taken from the °*muktāvalī*. The learned editor has quite appropriately taken notice, in the footnotes of the text and indices, of the variants of the names of the poets as recorded in other anthologies as also by Prof. Bhandarkar in his description of manuscripts of the work but the variants in the extracts quoted by the Professor seem to have escaped his notice, except in the case of the fifth introductory verse.[1] He could have at least recorded the variants of धुर्जर (p. 2, v. 11) and लक्ष्मदेव (p. 3, v. 20) if they are not really printing mistakes for गुर्जर and लक्ष्मिदेव. as भवल्या (p. 4, v. 26) and दोयि (p. 76) are apparently misprints for भक्त्या and धोयि.

1 It is a strange coincidence that the verse, an indispensable one, does not occur in any of the manuscripts used for the present edition. It is not known how it came to be dropped in the description of the *Madras Oriental Library Catalogue* (XX. 12140) which states that the introductory verses quoted there are taken from Prof. Bhandarkar's *Report*.

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It is not clear if the last two verses in the book really form part of the work or are additions made by the scribes. The first of the two which is not complete by itself is the concluding verse of the *Anukramaṇikā*, while the second may refer to the owner of a particular manuscript.

In spite of the defects and imperfections mentioned above it must be admitted that the learned editor has tried his best to make the edition of this important work thoroughly useful. The long and scholarly introduction in Sanskrit collects in one place much valuable information about a good number of poets whose poems are quoted in the work. There are four indices respectively of the verses, poets, works and anonymous verses, the second and the last of which are specially important, because many of the verses are traced there to their sources in some of the published and unpublished Sanskrit works.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

EARLY HISTORY OF THE VAISNAVA FAITH AND MOVEMENT IN BENGAL, by Dr. S. K. De, M.A., D.Lit. (London), Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Dacca; General Printers and Publishers, Calcutta, 1942; pages i-iv + 535.

In reviewing this very welcome stupendous work on religious historical subject to the completion of which Dr. De devoted almost a decade's laborious study and research, we should remember, as he himself states in the Preface, that 'the concern in this work is more with the faith than with the movement, more with ideas and ideals than with incidents and practices', connected with Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, specially the early history of Caitanyaism. The author, as a veteran and deep student of the history of both Sanskrit and Bengali literatures, has profusely utilised in an extensive and scholarly manner both the Sanskrit sources of the so-called Vṛndāvana tradition of Vaiṣṇavism used so fully in English for the first time in such a work, as well as the Bengali sources of the so-called Navadvīpa tradition. The book is a very valuable contribution to the critical and historical study of Caitanyaism which is really 'a peculiar system of erotico-mystic devotion', the historical development of which sentiment (*madhura-rasa*) has so aptly and adroitly been traced and discussed by the author. The history of the probable origin and development of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism has been dealt with in this treatise with a very great critical eye and it deserves careful

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study by all scholars. It must be said that many of the views expressed by Dr. De in this book will receive careful consideration from scholars of the rational school of religious history. What the author has cleverly avoided, while writing this book, is any 'comparative valuation of the faith' and any motive to offend or distort. He claims, not unrightly, that he has discussed the whole Caitanya movement and its dogmas and doctrines mainly in a historical and critical spirit. But Dr. De's book has been inspired, it may be assumed, by a feeling of propaganda against devotional propagandists. It is almost a fight put against the learned dogmatics and excessive fanatical devotion of the followers and adherents of Caitanya. The author's criticism has spared the wonderful ascetic and devotional personality of Caitanya, but having in a large measure defended the 'highly refined erotico-religious sensibility' of the devotees of this peculiarly special religious system, he does not fully accord with the tenets preached by Caitanya's devout followers. Dr. De has brought repeatedly to the notice of scholars that Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, the very learned and renowned author of the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta,* quoted books in support of Caitanyaism and the events of Caitanya's life, which (books) were written several years after the Master's demise. He, therefore, stresses, for example, the absurdity of the scholastic discourse between Caitanya and Rāmānanda, and its theological nature also is entirely attributed by him to the scholarly and theologically minded Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. The author is full of regard for the most inspiring and saintly personality of Caitanya. Though his opinion on the possible influence of Caitanyaism in South and Western India through which Caitanya travelled seems to be very cogent, yet it might be regarded as a blow to orthodox views. The section (in Chapter II) on 'Caitanya's Relation to the Sect and the Cult' is very important and herein is to be sought the author's own view on the excessively sectarian bias of the later Gosvāmins, whose Sanskrit works on the theological, philosophical and emotional aspects of Vaiṣṇavism written mainly under the inspiration of Caitanya formed as it were the anchor-sheet of Caitanyaism. It is quite a fact that in the case of all great religious personalities, e.g. Buddha, Rāmakṛṣṇa and others, the protagonists of their faith promulgated many things which could not in all conscience be claimed for their religious masters themselves. Caitanya could not be an exception in this regard and his associates and followers too did not do otherwise. Kṛṣṇalīlā and not Caitanyalīlā forms the central subject of the dissertations of the six

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Gosvāmins. Dr. De, however, in his attempt to prove that the theologians did not believe clearly in Caitanya being either identical with Kṛṣṇa or the latter's *avatāra*, appears to have given many illustrations from their literary works which often go to prove the view which he wants to disprove. The theologians themselves did not explicitly write of Caitanya as such, because they were anxious only to state their view on the Kṛṣṇa-cult alone. But it appears to be a fact, as stated by Dr. De, that they did not urge theoretically on the worship of Caitanya himself in their works. According to them, in Dr. De's opinion, Caitanya could not be the supreme deity of the creed but he was only an *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa. It also appears that Dr. De has succeeded in showing that Caitanya did not directly instruct the theologians, the Gosvāmins, specially Rūpa and Sanātana, as alleged by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, but they were undoubtedly inspired by the Master on account of their very deep scholarship in Śāstras, to systematise the theology of the sect. Dr. De had always, in writing this book, a careful eye on the author of the Bengali *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* whom he openly and covertly criticised for his bias for the theology of the Gosvāmins.

A few more words are required to be said regarding the arrangement and contents of some of the chapters in this voluminous treatise. The biographical sketches in Chapter III on the life and doings of the six Gosvāmins and the historical notes in Chapter VII on both the Sanskrit and Bengali literary works on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism will certainly serve as full data for future scholars who would intend to carry on researches on the subject. Some of the dissertations in Chapters V-VI on the theology, philosophy and ethics of Vaiṣṇavism, inspite of their occasional harsh tone, are very learned and deserve to be read with toleration even by orthodox Vaiṣṇavas if they are really anxious to seek for truth and correctness in matters connected with the whole history of the Faith and Movement. The author has done a service to many a scholar, who are eager to know the contents at some length, of the famous *Ṣaṭ-sandarbhas* of Jīva Gosvāmin without a study of which one cannot possibly appreciate the special features of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, by giving an elaborate and learned summary of the teachings on the theology and philosophy with which those Sanskrit works are inlaid. One would have only wished his summaries of their contents and also of the Vaiṣṇava Smṛti compilations to have been smaller in size and written with less verbosity. A little more economy of words would have enhanced the dignity of the author's learned composition. As

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one of the foremost and most critical scholars of Sanskrit Poetics, Dr. De has shown a mastery in his treatment in Chapter IV of the Devotional Sentiments (Rasaśāstra). Therein he has very lucidly dealt with the most unique and novel *rasa* (bhakti) which Rūpa Gosvāmin has raised to the dignity of a poetical rasa in the manner of the older Sanskrit writers on literary rasa-śāstra. The general survey of the rasa-śāstra of Caitanyaism given in this chapter by Dr. De is very interesting and informative, and it will serve the purpose of teaching students in a very usefully easy method this difficult subject of the Devotional Sentiment of bhakti with its most subtle intricacies, and his criticism of Rūpa's treatment is very instructive for the students of Sanskrit poetics. Attention may be drawn to the author's conclusive remarks (pp. 167-170) on the nature of the discussion and exposition of the *madhura-rasa* by Rūpa in his two voluminous *rasa* treatises, the *Bhaktirasāmṛta-sindhu* and the *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*. Dr. De has tried to prove, perhaps rightly, that according to the belief of the sect the Vṛndāvana līlā is not a mere symbol or divine allegory, but a literal fact of history, because to the Vaiṣṇava theologians the Purāṇic world in which they chiefly want to live is manifestly a matter of religious history. It is good to observe that Dr. De has admitted the human as well as the transcendental value of the later lyric literature of Caitanyaism which has been lifted into a high level of artistic and passionate expression due to the 'devotional ecstasy' or 'the richly romantic idealism of its mystical erotic sensibility.'

It may be remarked in short that Dr. De's book has opened the road to the extensive and elaborate study by scholars throughout this country and outside of the important subject of Vaiṣṇavism itself, specially Caitanyasim (or Bengal Vaiṣṇavism). It is very much hoped that the book will attract the attention of English-knowing scholars to the intricacies of later Vaiṣṇava theology and philosophy. The profound respect shown by Dr. De to the powerfully inspiring personality of Caitanya, and his sympathetic discussion of the Vaiṣṇava *bhāvas* lead one to think that he himself does not belong to the unfaithfuls. It may be said with some sort of certainty that Dr. De's book will bring comfort to many a soul that want to enter into the bliss excepted out of a realisation of the *sāmīpya* with a personal god, so much discussed in this new system of Caitanyaism, although the author's own views may not everywhere be fully endorsed by orthodox devotees.

It may only be feared that the modern Bengalee devotees of Caitanyaism

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will not entirely subscribe to the way in which both the Faith and Movement have been treated by Dr. De, but a non-partisan intelligent reader of the book cannot but highly appreciate the spirit of research evinced by the author who is now to be regarded as one of the great Indian scholars who have so much advanced the study of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism not only throughout Bengal or India, but also other countries.

It ought to be remarked that much scholarly criticism is also embodied in the foot-notes which are of great value to scholars. The index, references and bibliographies are exhaustive and useful, and have been drawn up in a scientific and laborious manner. Inspite of the insertion of the Errata there occur some typographical mistakes, but they are not many in number. The press is to be congratulated on the excellent performance of the printing work.

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

KĀVYA-PRAKĀŚA, Ullāsa X, with five commentaries, edited with an Introduction, English Translation and Explanatory Notes, by S. S. Sukthankar, Professor of Sanskrit, Rajaram College, Kohlapur. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1941.

The importance of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* as a standard text-book on Sanskrit Poetics has been long recognised, and it is no wonder that innumerable commentaries came to be written upon it. In spite of these commentaries, some of the most important of which have already appeared in print, the necessity of elucidating the terse and difficult text led to a large number of editions of the different Ullāsas, commencing from that of Candorkar (2nd ed., I, II, VII and X, Poona 1915), for the use not only of College students but also for those who are interested in the study of Sanskrit Poetics. We had the pleasure of reviewing in this journal (X, 1934, pp. 376-77) the present author's edition of the text of I, II and III; and we are glad to find that the same lucid and useful features also characterise his edition of Ullāsa X. To the general student of Sanskrit Poetics, however, the chief interest of the present edition, where there are so many in the field, lies in the publication of several important commentaries, edited along with the text. The *Pradīpa* of Govinda, the *Uddyota* of Nāgeśa and the *Prabhā* of Vaidyanātha have been published several times before this, being undoubtedly important and deservedly popular commentaries on the text. The *Saṃketa* of Ruyyaka, one of the earliest commentaries by an indepen-

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dent writer on Poetics, has also been published by Mr. Siva Prasad Bhattacharya on the basis of the Bhandarkar Institute manuscript; but our editor, perhaps unaware of this edition, has been able to present, from the same manuscript-material, a much more improved text of the commentary. The *Bāla-cittānurañjanī* of Narahari Sarasvatītīrtha appears to be the only unpublished commentary which has been included, and its inclusion is not undeserved.

These commentaries, which have been edited with care and scholarship, will certainly help the student in understanding the text, but the editor's English translation, gloss and notes based on them will be no less helpful. The notes are lucid and painstaking, and it is a pleasure to find that they are not so unnecessarily minute and voluminous as one finds in some other editions. Without being prolix, they explain important points clearly and carefully; and they will very well serve the purpose for which they are meant. The running English translation, eked out by the running English gloss, will also prove helpful; but it is clear that for a technical treatise composed with pregnant brevity and terseness, a mere translation without gloss and notes can never be sufficient. In the desire to give a somewhat free and readable translation, for instance, the term Sādharmya (in the Kārikā: *sādharmyam upamā bhede*) is rendered by the phrase 'similarity of attributes', but literally it means 'connexion with a common attribute'; fortunately, the gloss and notes make this clear. In spite of these difficulties, the editor has discharged his exacting task with care and conscientiousness, and we would request him to continue his labours and publish the remaining Ullāsas on a similar plan. The printing and get-up of the book are worthy of the text and of the publishing house which has issued it.

S. K. De

HUMAYUN BADSHAH, by S. K. Banerji, volume II, Maxwell Company, Lucknow, 1941.

In reviewing the first volume of this work I referred to certain defects which, it was hoped, the author would not allow in the coming volume. Among these was the practice of incorporating, in the text as well as in the footnotes, unnecessary and pointless details which make tedious reading and divert the reader's mind. It is a pity Dr. Banerji has not cared to take the advice. The result is a bulky volume whose essential matter could have

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been put in a book of half the size. Could it not, for example, be left to the reader to grasp the 'points of interest' in the episode of Bairam's flight from Chausa to rejoin his master in Sindh without itemising them in a lengthy footnote (p. 91)? One can see little justification for inserting in the text such legends as those connected with Akbar's birth and infancy (pp. 84-5) or those connected with Humayun's death (pp. 256-7). Such matter, if to be mentioned at all, had better been put in a footnote. The innumerable Persian verses scattered all over the book and the series of quotations from Humayun's *Diwan* with translations are, one may suspect, designed to produce effect and flavour. They merely clog the narrative and hamper the argument. Lack of exact page reference to the different authorities cited is another omission which a little care would have avoided.

These and similar editorial defects apart, the book is an honest and reasoned study of a stormy but significant period and of a peace-loving cultured gentleman unfortunately called upon to play the warrior king. In this volume Humayun appears in a more pleasing light. Gone were his earlier lethargy, unaccountable fits of cruelty and sentimentalism, irresponsibility and irresolution, and we now find in him a man of action,—energetic, firm and calculating. Whether his non-sectarianism was dictated merely by his own self-interest or was the expression of a genuine catholicity of mind (I wish the author had developed this point a little more fully; his remarks on p. 355 would imply that his profession of Shia faith was a diplomatic conformism but on p. 128 he is suggested to have had no deep sectarian attachment—"He was not so convinced of any defects in Shiaism as to die a martyr for the cause of Sunni-ism") the fact remains that his tolerance, and intellectualism were in the true tradition of Babar and a precursor of the age of renaissance symbolised by his brilliant son. One can hardly disagree with the author's final evaluation of Humayun that "among the long list of Mughal rulers, except Akbar and perhaps Babar, none excelled him."

The latter part of the book deals with a variety of interesting topics. A discussion on Akbar's childhood brings to light what I believe has not been properly stressed, namely his indebtedness to the tradition of culture and liberalism created by his father and grandfather. Akbar not only fulfilled the expectation of the age but also continued a family tradition without which he would perhaps have been another Muhammud b. Tughluq. Dr. Banerji incidentally throws out a suggestion, so openly and categorically

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asserted by another recent writer, that the story of Akbar's illiteracy is probably not true. Interesting details have been provided about Babar's family and the literary aptitude that they possessed. There is little of administrative detail that the author could find relating to Humayun except that he reformed the measuring yard, added a *Foujdar* and an *Amin* to Babar's financial staff, and that the rate of his revenue demand was lower than that of Akbar. A section has been devoted to Humayun's fanciful and meaningless innovations, e.g. the division of the court officials into three classes, the grouping of the nobles into twelve grades each distinguished by an arrow, the departmentalisation of the state-affairs into Fire, Air, Water and Earth ("the water department.....looked after the syrup and the wine manfacture for the king's use, the digging of the canals and all works connected with the river") the colour of the king's dress on different occasions, his invention of the carpet of mirth etc. If these mean anything at all, they show the playful bend of Humayun's mind and his utter incompetence as an administrator. Dr. Banerji has, however, taken them seriously and dignified them with laboured comments. What reason has he to think that the "Mansabdari system of 66 or 33 grades might have grown out of these twelve classes"? Vincent Smith's conjecture is no argument. On the other hand there is valid reason to suspect that it was not an innovation of Akbar but was the perfection of an earlier less elaborated system which is found in existence as early as the Tughluq period. A considerable portion of the concluding chapter has been devoted to literary men, poet-saints and religious reformers of the age, Hindus and Muslims, with copious extracts from their compositions. The section on the Nobility, however, is a bare string of names and nowhere is there any attempt at determining their constitutional position vis-á-vis the king.

The book contains a vast amount of interesting though in many places, irrelevant, details and has probably been hurriedly written. Let us hope the second edition will offer less scope for criticism.

A. B. M. Habibullah

A TRANSLATION OF THE KHAROṢṬHĪ DOCUMENTS FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN (James G. Forlong Fund, vol. XX) by Dr. T. Burrow; published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London; 1940. Pages 151.

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A number of Prakrit documents written in the Kharoṣṭhī script were discovered by Sir M. Aurel Stein during his three expeditions to Chinese Turkestan in 1900-1, 1906-08 and 1913-16, beyond the Niya river in the regions of Niya, Lou-lan, Tun-huang, Imām Ja'far Sādiq and Endere. The circumstances leading to their discovery are described respectively in Stein's *Ancient Khotan* (1907), *Serindia* (1921) and *Innermost Asia* (1928). The documents discovered in the first and second expeditions were published by Boyer, Rapson and Senart in their celebrated work entitled *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions,*[1] Part I (1920), and Part II (1927). The third part of the work dealing with the records of the third expedition were published by Rapson and Noble in 1929.

The documents have opened up a new and fertile field of study to scholars who are interested in the expansion of Indian culture and, especially, in the philology of Middle Indo-Aryan. Amongst the few scholars who are engaged in the study of these records, Dr. Burrow has secured a considerably high position by publishing his *Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge, 1937), a grammar of the Prakrit language used in the records, and now *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan* which is the volume under review. The basis of this translation and of the explanatory notes is to be found in Dr. Burrow's grammar referred to above.

We have nothing but admiration for the way these documents have been handled by Dr. Burrow. It should however be admitted that the interpretation of a large number of expressions are still not quite beyond doubt. As an instance, one may point out the word *balasta* (No. 358, p. 70) which has been left untranslated. Prof. F. W. Thomas (*Acta Orientalia*, XIII, 1935, p. 64) separates *ba* and regards it as the same as Sans. *vā*. This is unconvincing as *v* is not changed to *b* in the Central Asian Prakrit. Dr. Burrow leaves it as an unknown word. I am inclined to take *balasta* to be the same as Sans. *bal-āsta*, used in the sense of *bala-kṣaya*.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

1 As the documents are not *inscribed*, they are not *inscriptions* in the true sense of the term. But some scholars, e.g. Rapson, have used the word *inscription* to indicate any writing, even legends on coins.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Bhāratīya Vidyā, vol. III, pt. II (May, 1942)

K. M. Munshi.—*The Goden Age of the Imperial Guptas.* A picture of the prosperous condition obtaining in the period of the Gupta monarchs has been given in the paper with an account of the activities of the great rulers who helped in the development of many a cultural institution in the country.

P. K. Gode.—*Date of Meghavijayagaṇi's Commentary on the Hasta-sañjīvana—between A.D. 1680 and 1700.*

H. G. Narahari.—*Sūktabhājaḥ and Havirbhājaḥ.* The paper contains discussion of the relative positions and distinctive characters of the Vedic deities as known from the *Nirukta* of Yāska, and as indicated by their division into groups receiving praise (sūktabhājaḥ) and receiving oblations (havirbhājaḥ).

A. D. Pusalkar.—*Indus Civilisation: II Cultural.* This instalment of the paper describes briefly the art and sculpture as evidenced in the specimens found at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, and deals with the social life of the people of this ancient region in reference to "their food and dress, coiffure and personal ornaments, toiletry and cosmetics, household articles, games and toys, domesticated animals, weights and measures, weapons, arts and crafts, etc. and funerary customs."

D. R. Mankad.—*Pre-Mahābhārata Solar Dynasty.* This is an attempt to reconstruct the genealogy of the solar dynasty as it stood in the days of the Mahābhārata war by fixing up the number of steps from Manu Vaivasvata, the progenitor of the dynasty to the solar kings like Bṛhadbala taking part in the Kuru-Pāṇḍava conflict. The writer finds harmony in the midst of the apparent discrepancies in the various lists of names given in the Purāṇic records.

S. N. Vyas.—*The City of Alakā in Meghadūta.* The city of Alakā from which Kālidāsa's Yakṣa in the *Meghadūta* is conceived to have been banished is identified in this note with the modern Suvarṇagiri near Jalor in Marwar. The place is situated on a high level 70 miles to the south of Jodhpur.

A. S. Gopani.—*Maheśvarasūri's Jñānapañcamīkathā—A Study.* Maheśvarasūri flourishing not later than the 11th century A.C. has narrated,

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in his Jñānapañcamīkathā, an unpublished work of two thousand verses in Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, ten illustrative stories where persons observing the vow of Pañcamī on the fifth day of the bright half of Kārtika are said to have acquired various benefits.

HARIVALLABH BHAYANI.—*Two Linguistic Notes:* (1) A Note on some Gujarātī Reduplicatives (2) A Note on the Gujarātī Representatives of the Sanskrit Secondary formations in-Rūpa—

MANILAL PATEL.—*Bharadvāja's Hymns to Agni.* Four hymns of the *Ṛgveda* (VI, 13-16) in praise of Agni by Bharadvāja have been rendered into English with notes in this instalment.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. X, pt. 4

H. W. BAILEY.—*Hvatanica IV.* Khotanese texts published with English translations and notes give an idea of the extent to which the Buddhist theology and legends penetrated into Khotan.

ARNOLD KUNST.—*An Overlooked Type of Inference. Arthāpatti,* which is regarded as a means of cognition (pramāṇa) by the Mīmāṃsakas, a type of inference (anumāna) by the Sāṅkhyas, and a figure of speech (alaṃkāra) by the Rhetoricians, has been analysed and its implication discussed.

Calcutta Review, August, 1942

S. N. HAIDAR RIZVI.—*The Chronology of Muhammad bin Tughlaq's Reign.*

Indian Culture, vol. VIII, no. 1 (July—September, 1941)

S. K. DE.—*Some Satiric Poems in Sanskrit.* The discussion is concerned with the works of two poets—Dāmodaragupta and Kṣemendra, both flourishing in the Kashmir region in the 9th and 11th centuries respectively. The *Kuṭṭanīmata* of the former, and the *Samayamātṛkā, Darpadalana, Kalāvilāsa, Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā* of the latter poet contain erotico-comic poems and satirical sketches of men and manners.

HEMCHANDRA RAYCAUDHURI.—*The Tapestry of Ancient Indian History.* This Presidential Address delivered at the Indian History Congress held at Hyderabad in 1941 deals mainly with the work done of late by scholars in the various fields of ancient Indian history and culture,

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and points out the value of historical studies carried out in the proper way.

S. B. Das Gupta.—*Vajra and the Vajrasattva.* The nature and significance of the expressions Vajra and Vajrasattva occurring in the treatises of the Tantric school of Buddhism form the subject-matter of the paper. The Vajra conception of the Vajrayānists corresponds to the idea of Śunyatā of the Mādhyamika school. The Mahāyāna conception of Dharmakāya as the highest reality underlying all existence has found a counterpart in the Vajrasattva of Vajrayāna resembling the Brahman of the Upaniṣads as "the pure consciousness purged of all impurities of subjectivity and objectivity."

Dinesh Chandra Sircar.—*An Account of the Fifty-six Countries in and on the Borders of India.* The *Saṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga* forming the 7th Paṭala of the *Śaktisaṅgamatantra* assigned to the 17th or the 18th century has been edited here with notes in English. It contains an account of 56 countries in and near India. Most of the places mentioned are *tīrthas* holy to the Śaivas and Śāktas. The geographical information given here though at times confusing throws interesting light in many cases. A description of the fivefold division of India as found in the 8th Paṭala of the *Śaktisaṅgamatantra* is appended to the paper.

Nani Madhab Chaudhuri.—*Mother-goddess Conception in the Vedic Literature.* Continued.

Padma Misra.—*Vāhīka and Bāhlīka.* Vāhīka was the earlier name of the Punjab. It is conjectured that with the occupation of the country by the Kuṣāṇas from the Balkh region, it came to be called Bāhlīka also. The two names are sometimes confounded in Sanskrit texts, but only Bāhlīka has survived in later works.

Baij Nath Puri.—*The Nationality and Original Habitat of the Kuṣāṇas.* The conclusion reached in the paper is that the Kuṣāṇas belonged to the Mediterranean stock, and their original home was in Western Asia.

Batakrishna Ghosh.—*Latin and Sanskrit.*

Jain Antiquary, vol. VIII, no. 1 (June, 1942)

A. N. Upadhye.—*Some of the Latest Institutions and Journals and their Work in the field of Prākrit Studies, etc.*

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V. RAGHAVAN.—*Does Udayana refer to Jöindu.* Udayanācārya who flourished in the latter part of the 10th century, in his *Ātmatattvaviveka,* mentions the name of Jagadindu as a philosophical writer opposed to the Vedic tenets. It has been suggested in this note that this writer referred to might be Jöindu, the Jaina author of the *Paramātmaprakāśa.*

KALIPADA MITRA.—*Magic and Mriacle in Jain Literature.*

P. K. GODE.—*A Contemporary Manuscript of the Hastasañjīvana-bhāsya of Meghavijayagaṇi, belonging to Raghunātha Mahādeva Ghāṭe—between A.D. 1680 and 1700.*

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN.—*The Jaina Chronology.* Events of Jaina history covering the period between 573 B.C. and 321 B.C. are given in this instalment in a table with dates.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. XXVIII (June, 1942)

H. HERAS.—*Pre-history and Proto-history.* As the domain of pre-history ends with the appearance of written documents, the inscriptions on the seals discovered at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, even if not deciphered, preclude the term 'pre-historic' being applied to the civilization of those regions. Proto-historic would therefore be the proper denomination for the period from the time of the Indus Valley culture to the invasion of Alexander the Great.

BRIJNARAIN AND SRI RAM SHARMA.—*A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India.* There are two copeis of a *Hindustan Chronicle* in Dutch in the Dutch Record Office at Hague. It was translated into Latin by Joannes De Laet who informs us that the original used by him had been compiled by Van Den Brocke, a Director at Surat in the early seventeenth century. The 'chronicle' gives an account of Indian events from the beginning of the reign of Humayun to that of Shah Jahan. As the Latin version is not a faithful rendering of its original the original Dutch work has been rendered here into English.

L. B. KENY.—*The Nāgas in Magadha.* That the Nāgas inhabiting Magadha and its neighbourhood were a people advanced in civilization culturally and materially is shown from literary evidence.

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. IX, no. 2 (July, 1942)

U. N. GHOSHAL.—*Progress of Greater Indian Research during the last Twenty-five Years (1917-42).* The paper gives an account of the

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research work carried out by various scholars in regard to Afghanistan, Central Asia, Tibet, Mongolia and Manchuria, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Champā, Java, Bali, Borneo and Celebes, Sumatra, Malay Peninsula and Ceylon.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XXI, pts. 1-2 (April—August, 1942)

V. C. JOSHI.—*East India Company and the Mughal Authorities during Jahangir's Reign.*

H. HERAS.—*Were the Mohenjo-Darian Aryans or Dravidians?* In opposition to the contention of Dr. Lakshman Sarup that the Indus Valley Culture belonged to a later phase of the Ṛgvedic period and is Aryan in character, arguments are put forward to maintain that the said culture is pre-Vedic and Dravidian in origin.

DHIRENDRANATH MOOKHERJEE.—*The Genealogy and Chronology of the Early Imperial Guptas.* This treatment of the genealogy and chronology of the Gupta monarchs is in support of the writers' assertion that the starting year of the Gupta era is 58 B.C., and that "the Guptas began to rule from the 1st century B.C. and not from the 4th century A.D." as Dr. Fleet asserts.

ATINDRANATH BOSE.—*Oldest Indo-Aryan Cities.* To this description of a number of cities like Campā, Sāvatthi and Sāketa mentioned in old literature, a discussion is added regarding the principles of town-planning known to the ancient Indians and followed by them in the building of their cities.

K. C. VARADACHARI.—*Bhaktisāra Yogī and his Philosophy of Religion or Āḻvār Tirumaḻiśai (Mahiṣāsurapurī).* Tirumaḻiśai, called Bhaktisāra for his devotional attainments, was the fourth Āḻvār saint of the Tamil Vaiṣṇavas. A traditional account of his life and an expositon of the religious tenets recorded in his two works *Nānmukhan Tiruvandādi* and *Tirucchanda Viruttam* have been given here.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1942, pt. 1

H. W. BAILEY.—*Kaṇiṣka.* A fragment of a Khotanese manuscript containing a legend about Kaniṣka and Aśvaghoṣa has been edited and translated into English with Notes. The name of the king is found

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spelt in this document with a cerebral *ṇ* and dental *s*, and with the epithet cadrra (=candra) added before the name.

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*Ctesias on Indian Manna.* The fragmentary Greek account of India left by Ctesias mentions a river called Spabaros with Zêtacora trees standing on its banks and dropping sweet exudations into the waters. The river is identified with the Bhāgīrathī, and the trees giving the Manna-like saccharine substance are thought to have been sitacora, "a transliteration of Cīṭakhāra, 'pine-sugar'."

Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā (Bengali) (vol. 49, no. 1)

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA.—*Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana.* An account of the literary productions of Jagannātha who compiled at the instance of Sir William Jones, the famous digest of Hindu Law known as *Vivādabhaṅgārṇava,* and some of his ancestors and descendants.

NIHARRANJAN RAY.—*Land System of Old Bengal.* The present instalment refers to the rules of measurement, demand, income and taxation, and ownership.

MUHAMMAD SHAHIDUALAH.—*Dohās of Siddha Kānupā and their* translations. Text and Bengali translation of 32 *dohās* of Kānupā.

Ibid, (vol. 49, no. 2)

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA.—*Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṅkāra and the Caṭṭa Śobhākara Family.* It gives an account of the writings of Bāṇeśvara and a few other Paṇḍits born in the family of Śobhākara.

SANATKUMAR GUPTA.—*Kālikīrtana.* It contains a reprint of the earliest (almost unknown) edition of the *Kālikīrtana* of Rāmaprasāda Sen published by Isvar Chandra Gupta in 1833.

C. C.

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The Vedic and the Epic Kṛṣṇa

There is some speculation regarding the identity of the epic Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with the Kṛṣṇa of *Ṛgveda* viii. 74, whom the *Anukramaṇī* styles Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa, and with Kṛṣṇa Devakī-putra, who is described as the pupil of Ghora Āṅgirasa in the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* (iii. 17. 6); and it has been suggested that a tradition exists, from the time of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as a Vedic seer or teacher. This speculation is necessitated by the fact that two important features of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa emerge in the Epic, namely, Kṛṣṇa as the not-overscrupulous tribal chief, and Kṛṣṇa as the deified philosophical and religious teacher; and it is felt that the two features should be reconciled. It has been suggested that these figures belong to different cycles of legend. Some scholars have even gone to the length of separating these two aspects of Kṛṣṇa, although there is no conclusive evidence or tradition for this procedure in the Epic itself. We have R. G. Bhandarkar's suggestion, accepted by Grierson and Garbe, but rejected by Hopkins and Keith, that Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa was originally a local or tribal chief who was deified, or a legendary saint of the Vṛṣṇi-Sātvatas whom he taught a monotheistic religion, that he lived in the 6th century B.C., if not earlier, that originally he was quite different from the Kṛṣṇa of whom a tradition is supposed to exist from the time of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* as a seer or teacher, that Vāsudeva became identified with Viṣṇu earlier than with Kṛṣṇa, and that his legends came to be mixed up; but it must be said that these facile, though attractive, conjectures are not proved. Some scholars have even maintained that Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa did not figure at all in the original Epic, but was introduced later, perhaps to justify the action of the Pāṇḍavas; but this is also an unproved hypothesis of the same type. The existence of cycles of legend in an epic like the *Mahābhārata* is

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indeed not denied, but the assumption of two or several Kṛṣṇas is based upon the further *a priori* assumption that the Kṛṣṇa-legend in the Epic must be analysed into several groups, and that each of these groups was originally concerned with different persons of the same name, but was subsequently mixed up to form one mass round one personality. Whatever plausibility these assumptions may possess, there is, unfortunately, nothing conclusive in the Epic itself, nor in the previous literature, to warrant such a complacent splitting up of the existing data.

It is noteworthy that the identity of the Vedic Kṛṣṇa with the Epic Kṛṣṇa is not at all supported by the Purāṇic tradition. We have no description, either in the Epic or in the Purāṇa, of Kṛṣṇa as a seer of Vedic Mantras or as a pupil of an Upaniṣadic seer. In the Purāṇic tradition the name of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa's teacher is given as Kāśya Saṃdīpani of Avantī, and that of his initiator as Gārga. As a Kṛṣṇa, father of Viśvakāya, is mentioned in *ṚgVeda* i. 116. 23 and i. 117. 7, and a Kṛṣṇa Hārīta in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, iii. 2. 6, it is clear that Kṛṣṇa is not an uncommon non-divine name; but the attempts to connect or identify these Kṛṣṇas, or to establish the tradition of a sage Kṛṣṇa "from the time of the ṚgVedic hymns to the time of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad", as R. G. Bhandarkar suggests, have not, so far, proved very successful. All that can be said without dogmatism is that there are the Vedic and Upaniṣadic Kṛṣṇas, on the one hand, and the Epic and Purāṇic Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva, on the other, but that the links which would connect or identify them beyond all doubt are unfortunately missing.

These missing links are supposed to be furnished, however, in the case at least of Kṛṣṇa of the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, by the fact that he is described therein as Devakī-putra, and by the allegation that there is a close similarity between the doctrines taught to Kṛṣṇa Devakī-putra in the Upaniṣad and the doctrines taught by Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavad-gītā*. Although the possibility of accidental coincidence of names is not altogether excluded, there can be no doubt that a very strong point, and perhaps the only strong point, of this view lies in the similarity of the description Devakī-putra, as well as in the comparative rarity of the name Devakī. But this one circumstance alone cannot be taken as conclusively supplying the means of connexion between the two Kṛṣṇas. For corroboration, therefore, somewhat doubtful similarity has been industriously discovered between the teachings of Ghora Āṅgirasa to Kṛṣṇa Devakī-

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putra and the teachngs of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna. As this point has been argued in some detail,[1] it would be worth while to discuss it here.

In the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* iii. 17. 6, Ghora Āṅgirasa, who is described in the *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa* xxx. 6 as a priest of the Sun, teaches certain doctrines to Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī, of which the three main points are the following: (i) a mystic interpretation of certain ceremonies comprised in the Vedic sacrifice as representing various functions of life, (ii) the efficacy of the practice of certain virtues, which are declared to symbolise the Dakṣiṇā or priest's fee, an important element in the ritual; the virtues being austerity (Tapas), liberality (Dāna), straightforwardness (Ārjava), non-injury (Ahiṃsā) and truthfulness (Satya-vacana), and (iii) the importance of fixing one's last thoughts on three things, namely, the Indestructible (Akṣita), the Unshaken (Acyuta) and the Essence of Life (Prāṇasaṃśita); and the whole passage concludes with the citation of some Vedic Mantras in praise of the Sun. It is argued that these doctrines reappear in the *Bhagavad-gītā*, and the coincidence of certain passages is held to be striking. In the *Gītā*, there is symbolical interpretation of sacrifice; the virtues are also mentioned in xvi. 3; the importance of last thoughts is taught in viii. 5 and 10, while the epithets Akṣara, Acyuta etc. are also found; and lastly, the traditional communication of the original doctrines of the *Gītā* to Vivasvat or the sun-god is mentioned in iv. 1.

At first sight, these parallels appear striking enough to merit attention, but it is possible to make too much of them. It must be recognised that the teachings of Ghora Āṅgirasa, even if he is a sun-worshipper, are clearly Upaniṣadic. As the *Gītā* admittedly echoes some of the teachings of the Upaniṣads, and as some of its verses are easily shown to be made up of tags from the Upaniṣads, such verbal and other parallelisms are hardly surprising. The mystical interpretation of symbolic sacrifice or symbolising of the Vedic ritual is not at all rare in the Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad, and cannot be said to be exclusive to the teaching of Ghora Āṅgirasa. The *Bhagavad-gītā* probably borrows the idea from the general Brāhmaṇic and Upaniṣadic literature, but there is nothing to connect it

1 Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, *Early Hist. of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, 2nd. Ed., Calcutta University, 1936, pp. 79-83. See also L. D. Barnett, *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, London 1922, pp. 82-83, and in *JRAS.*, 1929, pp. 123-29, *BSOS.*, V. 1928-30, pp. 635-37. W. D. P. Hill, *Bhagavadgītā*, (Oxford Univ. Press), 1928. pp. 5-6.

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with the details of the particular interpretation given by Ghora Āṅgirasa. Unless this can be shewn, the argument loses all its force. It is well-known that the *Gītā* interpretation of sacrifice is somewhat different, for it not only symbolises the sacrifice but also attempts to sanctify it by its theistic theory of desireless Karman. Not much capital need also be made of the enumeration of particular virtues in the *Gītā*, for it occurs in a fairly comprehensive list of godlike qualities, and forms in no sense an exclusive mention of those stated by Ghora Āṅgirasa. Nor is it a complete list of the outstanding virtues of the Bhāgavata cult, even though it mentions Ahiṃsā[2] on which Barnett lays a stress greater than that found in the text itself, and argues from the prominence given to this virtue in the later development of Vaiṣṇavism. Such lists occur also in other places in the *Mahābhārata*, as well as in the *Gītā*, in the descriptions of the ideal man from various points of view; and no definite deduction can be made from such laudatory enumerations of more or less general and recognised virtues. Nothing is gained by connecting these well known virtues with the three (Dama, Tyāga and Apramāda) mentioned in the Besnagar inscription, although the Apramāda of the inscription is missing in Ghora's exposition.[3] The fact is also overlooked that the doctrine of Dama, Tyāga and Apramāda is not unknown in other parts of the Epic, which parts have no palpable connexion with Bhāgavatism; it occurs, for instance, in the Sanatsujāta sub-parvan of the Udyoga.[4] In the same way, the doctrine of last thoughts cannot be regarded as an essential doctrine

2 See Mrinal Dasgupta in *I.H.Q.*, viii, 1932, pp. 79-81, where the question of Ahiṃsā is discussed, and it is rightly concluded: "In the *Bhagavadgītā* Ahiṃsā is mentioned as a laudable virtue and as a *śārira tapas*, bodily penance (x, 5; xiii, 7; xiv, 2; xvii, 14); but it is out of the question that the Bhagavat should insist on this doctrine to Arjuna on the battle-field. To the Gītā-theory of desireless action, as well as of the immortality of the self, the distinction between injury and non-injury in itself is immaterial. It is remarkable, therefore, that while Ahiṃsā as a religious attitude is practically ignored in the *Bhagavadgītā*, it is insisted upon in the Nārāyaṇīya both by legend and precept; and in this respect, later Vaiṣṇava faiths follow the Nārāyaṇīya rule."

3 In spite of Barnett's very ingenious interpretation (*BSOS.*, v, p. 139), one fails to see in the triad of the inscription "a rude summary of the same principles as that of the *Gītā*."

4 Ed. Bhandarkar Institute, Poona 1940, 5. 43. 14; Bombay Ed. 5. 43. 22: *damas tyāgo' pramādaś ca eteṣu amṛtaṃ āhitam.*

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of the *Gītā,* and the mention of Akṣara, Acyuta etc. hardly proves anything. The present writer has already dealt with the next argument of the alleged connexion of Bhāgavatism with Sun worship,[5] an argument which is even less convincing; for no worship of the Sun is taught anywhere in the *Gītā,* and even admitting the influence of the solar cult, the alleged solar origin of Bhāgavatism is an extremely doubtful proposition.

Barnett admits that the particular parallels mentioned above are not very close, but he lays stress on their collective significance. On this there is room for reasonable difference of impression; but it would be surely too much to maintain, as Hemchandra Raychaudhuri does, that the doctrines taught by Ghora Āṅgirasa "formed the kernel of the poem known as the *Bhagavadgītā*", and build an entire edifice of hypothesis on such scanty and precarious materials as detailed above. It must not be forgotten that the parallels in question do not at all form the cardinal or essential doctrines of the *Gītā,* far less its *summa theologiae,* as they avowedly do in the case of Ghora Āṅgirasa's teaching; and their indebtedness or otherwise, and even their omission, in the *Gītā* would not materially affect the substance of the work.

S. K. De

5 In *BSOS.*, vi, pt. 3, 1931, pp. 669-72.

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The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir*

II. Modern Period

In the narrative of Kalhaṇa, the modern or the historical period dawns with the rise of the Kārkoṭa dynasty in the early part of the 7th century A.D. (Book IV), and comes into full bloom with the advent of the Utpala dynasty in 855-56 A.D. (Book V). Of the Kārkoṭa kings, Durlabhavardhana, Pratāpāditya II, Lalitāditya and Jayāpīḍa (Vinayāditya) are known from their coins (Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 38; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 268; R. C. Kak, *Handbook to the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sir Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar*, p. 133; *J.A.S.B.*, Numismatic Supplement, pp. N. 7-8). The kings Candrāpīḍa, Lalitāditya (Muktāpīḍa), and probably also Durlabhavardhana are mentioned in the valuable Chinese annals. King Cippaṭajayāpīḍa (otherwise called Bṛhaspati) is mentoined as his patron by the poet Rājānaka Ratnākara in his *Haravijaya* poem. By checking Kalhaṇa's dates for Candrāpīḍa and Muktāpīḍa with those from the Chinese annals and by considering Kalhaṇa's account of the synchronism of the poet Ratnākara with King Avantivarman of the Utpala dynasty, Stein, (I, *Introd.* pp. 67, 96) has found it necessary to rectify Kalhaṇa's chronology with the addition of twenty-five years. The above correction necessarily applies to Kalhaṇa's first recorded precise date, namely 3889 Laukika Era (813-14 A.D.) for the death of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa above-mentioned. How much truth and fiction are mingled in this part of Kalhaṇa's narrative is best illustrated by his long and detailed account of the reign of King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. Of the series of conquests attributed to this greatest of the ancient Kashmirian kings, some are rendered certain not only by intrinsic probability, but also by the external evidence. Thus we may well believe with the chronicler that the king extended his authority over the lower hills to the north of the Punjab comprising Jālaṃdhara and Lohara and probably also a few Śāhi principalities along the upper course of the Indus. The account of the defeat of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, the patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāja, may be

* Continued from vol. XVIII, p. 207.

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equally based on fact. Equally historical may be the account of Lalitāditya's victories over the Tuḥkhāras (Turks of Badakhshan and the Upper Oxus valley), the Bhauṭṭas or Tibetans (against whom the Kashmirian king is known from Chinese annals to have sought the support of the Emperor), and lastly the Daradas (or Dards still inhabiting the mountainous regions immediately to the north and north-east of Kashmir). On the other hand the author's description of his hero's victorious march throughout the whole of India from Gauḍa and Kaliṅga in the east along the sea-shore of Karṇāṭa, the Kāverī, Malaya and the islands of the southern Ocean and thence to Dvārakā and Avanti in the west, may be safely dismissed as a repetition of the conventional accounts of *digvijaya* of great Indian kings given by the other poets. Equally unhistorical are the hero's alleged victories over the Uttarakurus ("the hyperborean paradise" of the Indian Epics) and the Strīrājya ("the land of the amazons") in the north. [Kalhaṇa's description of Lalitāditya's *digvijaya* is vague enough, but Stein is hardly correct when he complains, (*Introd.* p. 90), of the absence of "all historical details" in the Chronicle. Kalhaṇa at any rate mentions among Lalitāditya's adversaries a Karṇāṭa princess Raṭṭā who ruled "like Durgā" over Dakṣiṇāpatha and is specially praised for making the roads over the Vindhyas evidently on her northern frontier "adequate and free from obstacles." It is difficult to understand why Stein (Bk. IV, 153*n* following Wilson) suggested the identification of the Vindhyas here mentioned with the Eastern Ghats]. After this it is no wonder that Kalhaṇa should in all seriousness reproduce some of the popular legends which had gathered around this King Arthur or Emperor Charlemagne of Kashmirian history, including a legend (IV, 277-306) which Alberuni tells of king Kaniṣka. More romantic even than the above is Kalhaṇa's picture (IV, 402 ff.) of Jayāpīḍa, Lalitāditya's grandson and almost as great a hero of Kashmirian popular legend. Based probably on genuine tradition is a notice of his patronage of the grammarian Kṣīra (Kṣīrasvāmin), Udbhaṭa (author of a well-known Alaṃkāra work), Dāmodaragupta, (author of the *Kuṭṭanīmata*) and Vāmana. Probably as authentic is the account of Jayāpīḍa's revival of Mahābhāṣya studies in his own country, and his foundation of Jayapura as a new capital. The lurid picture of Jayāpīḍa's tyranny in his later years and the strong Brahmanical reaction following therefrom bears the stamp of truth. On the other hand the stories of the hero's wanderings in the land of an imaginary king of Puṇḍravardhana and of his wars with a king of

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Nepal and one of "the eastern regions" otherwise unknown to history as well as of his conquest of "the land of the Amazons" have no pretence to historical truth. [For a full critical account of the Kings of the Fourth Book see Stein, I, *Introd.* pp. 87-97 and the references there given].

From the time of Avantivarman (885/6-883 A.D.), founder of the Utpala dynasty, Kalhaṇa gives for each reign the initial and closing dates recorded in years, months and days of the Laukika era which, as Bühler was the first to show, began in Kali Saṃvat 25 expired, i.e. 3076-75 B.C. The accuracy of these dates has not yet been disproved by independent evidence. Again, the series of successive kings from Śaṃkaravarman, son of Avantivarman, onwards is corroborated by the unimpeachable evidence of coins. It has therefore been rightly concluded (Stein, I, *Introduction*, p. 97) that the truly historical period of Kashmirian history begins with the Utpala dynasty above-mentioned. That the tendency to embellish the historical narrative with poetical hyperbole persisted even to these times may be judged from Kalhaṇa's record (V, 136-155) of Śaṃkaravarman's foreign expeditions. These were undertaken, if we are to believe the Chronicler, to revive the tradition of "conquest of the world." The king, we are told, issued from "the Gate" of Kashmir with nine lakhs of foot-soldiers, although "the country had through the action of time become reduced in population and wealth." From the Chronicler's subsequent description it follows that the king's warlike operations were confined to the lower hills north of the Punjab and were attended with slight success (Cf. Stein, I, *Introd.*, p. 99). For the half-century preceding his own times, Kalhaṇa's narrative has the advantage of drawing upon the statements of eye-witnesses. Referring to the execution of four young princes by king Harṣa Kalhaṇa quotes (VII, 1066) the impressions of aged men in his own time who "let flow showers of tears while relating their story". In connection with the same reign he quotes (VII 1123-24) verses sung by wandering poets (*kavicāraṇas*) ridiculing the folly of the king in seeking the hand of the queen of Vikramāditya VI Cālukya. Kalhaṇa's minute account of the last years of Harṣa's reign must have been largely based on the statements of contemporaries like his own father Caṇpaka who held the high office of 'lord of the gate' at the time and a cook who was the sole surviving eye-witness of the tragedy of the king's death. (Cf. Stein I, *Introd.*, p. 73. Coming to tse reign of Bhiksācara, Kalhaṇa quotes (VIII, 917) the evidence of eye-witnesses about the valour of the king's rival Sussala in "the wonderful battle" near Parṇotsa.

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It will be seen from the above that not to speak of the ancient times, the historical period alone in Kalhaṇa's chronicle extends over five centuries. Kalhaṇa justifies the claim that he makes in one of his introductory verses (I, 21) of writing a well-arranged work. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, in fact, is divided into eight *taraṅgas* ("waves"), of very unequal size it is true, each dealing with a single dynasty or a pair of them. Thus Book I consisting of 373 verses deals with the reigns of the "lost" fifty-two kings and their immediate successors of the Gonandīya dynasty. Book II (171 verses) is concerned with some isolated reigns. In Book III (530 verses) we have an account of the restored Gonandīya dynasty. Book IV (720 verses) is occupied with the Kārkoṭa dynasty and Book V (483 verses) with the Utpala dynasty. Book VI (368 verses) has for its theme the dynasties of Yaśaskara and Parvagupta. Book VII (1732 verses) is concerned with the first Lohara dynasty and Book VIII (3449 verses), the last and the longest of all, deals with the second Lohara dynasty down to the Chronicler's own time. (See the excellent chronological and genealogical tables in Stein, I, *Introduction*, pp. 134-145).

Political history, court scandals etc.

As a historical composition, the "River of Kings" is not confined in its scope to what is called political history, but is a work of varied contents. Especially in the last two Books which deal with recent and contemporary history the author gives us, as is natural under the circumstances, vivid accounts of the royal court including details of the royal family, the successive appointments to the principal administrative offices as well as court intrigues and scandals. As regards the last point, we may mention that revolting stories of debauchery are recorded of a number of evil Kings such as Cakravarman (V, 392ff.), Kṣemagupta (VI, 158ff.), and Kalaśa (VII, 292ff.). What is quite extraordinary is that lapses from the Brahmanical moral or social code are industriously reported even of admittedly able rulers like Queen Diddā (VI, 189, *ibid.*, 321-22) and king Yaśaskara (VI, 69ff.), as well as of other characters who did not play any important part on the historical stage. These facts would seem to illustrate the completeness—unapproached by the chronicles of any other part of India—with which the pictures of court life have been handed down by the Kashmir Chronicle. We may further take them to illustrate the freedom

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which the authors of historical Kāvyas, could if they chose, enjoy in recording the uglier aspects of their heroes' characters.

Administration

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, however, is far from being a mere Court-Gazetteer. With his father occupying a high office (that of 'Lord of the Gate') under King Harṣa, Kalhaṇa could not but feel interested in the past and present administration of his native land. In his First Book (I, 118-120) we find him making a notable attempt to trace the development of administrative institutions in his home-land in the dim past. Even before Jalauka (one of the 52 'lost' kings) when the kingdom according to the chronicler, had not attained its proper development in wealth, judicial administration (*vyavahāra*) and the like, it was reputed to have possessed a staff of seven officials. These were the *Dharmādhyakṣa* (Judge), the *Dhanādhyakṣa* (Revenue Superintendent), the *Koṣādhyakṣa* (Treasurer), the *Camūpati* (Army Commander), the *Dūta* (Envoy), the *Purohita* (Chaplain) and the *Daivajña* (Astrologer). Jalauka who is credited with clearing the land of *Mlecchas* and settling people of the four castes from Kānyakubja and other conquered countries, is said to have created eighteen offices 'in accordance with traditional usage.'. Coming to historical times, Kalhaṇa ascribes (IV, 141-43) a further expansion of the official organisation to Lalitāditya who is said to have created by the side of the eighteen older offices the five new offices (or rather titles) beginning with the word 'the Great'. These were the posts called *mahāpratīhāra, mahāsaṃdhivigraha, mahāśvaśālā, mahābhāṇḍāgāra* and *mahāsādhanabhāga*. Further evidence of the complex bureaucratic organisation is found in connexion with the author's incidental references to a number of administrative posts in later times. Some of these offices like those of the *Nagarādhikṛta* or *Nagarādhipa* (City Prefect), the *Pratīhāra* (Chamberlain), the *Daṇḍanāyaka* (Prefect of Police?) and the *Rājasthānīya* (Chief Justice?) had their counterparts in other parts of India. Common to both also was the office of *Akṣapaṭala* (Accounts Office), though the Ekāṅgas of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, forming a kind of military police attached to the same are not traceable elsewhere. Other offices like those of the *Pādāgra* (apparently concerned with the collection of the revenue), the *Dvārapati* (Lord of the Gate, i.e. commander of the frontier passes), the *Maṇḍaleśa* (Governor), the *Kampaneśa* (Commander-in-chief) and the

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Sarvādhikārin (Prime Minister) seem more or less to be peculiar to Kashmir. (For references, see Stein II, Index s.v.).

As regards the branches of administration, we find a number of rulers in Kalhaṇa's long record of kings and dynasties being credited with a high sense of justice and exceptional sagacity in the decision of difficult law-suits. Kalhaṇa delights in telling anecdotes of these rulers, which no doubt were sufficiently impressive to be handed down to his own times by authentic tradition. To confine ourselves to the historical period, we may begin with the anecdote (IV, 55 ff.) of king Candrāpīḍa and the tanner, which illustrates the former's anxiety to do justice to the meanest of his subjects. In the course of this story the king is made to utter the following noble words illustrative of the author's sense of his personality. "If we, who are to look after right and wrong, do unlawful acts, who should proceed by the right path?" The same king's desire to do justice even at the risk of his life is illustrated by the following anecdote (IV, 82 ff.) of a Brahman wife bereft of her husband by the witchcraft of an envious Brahman and seeking redress from the ruler. Of the Brahman king Yaśaskara (939-948 A.D.) two stories are told (VI, 14 ff.) illustrative of his Solomon-like wisdom in the decision of difficult law-suits. Even of so recent a king as Uccala (1101-1111 A.D.) Kalhaṇa records (VIII, 123 ff.) a similar judgment in a difficult suit between a depositor and a fraudulent merchant. On the other hand Kalhaṇa had only too many occasions, as we shall see presently, to refer to the violations of justice by evil rulers.

In the course of the long and detailed narrative of the history of his native land Kalhaṇa from time to time throws light upon the administration of the finances. Of the seven offices which, according to Kalhaṇa's authorities, existed even before king Jalauka, two were certainly concerned with revenue administration. These were the offices of the *Dhanādhyakṣa* and the *Koṣādhyakṣa* above-mentioned. Of the four new offices said to have been created by Lalitāditya, one viz., the *Mahābhāṇḍāgāra* (Superintendent of the royal store-house) was evidently charged with collection of the royal revenue. Probably the first authentic fact in the revenue history of Kashmir is the reference (IV, 620 ff.) to the cruel exactions (including the appropriation of the whole harvest for three years and confiscation of the *Agrahāras* of Brāhmans) perpetrated by Jayāpīḍa who was, according to Kalhaṇa, the first Kashmirian king to be ruled by the Kāyasthas (officials). We find also in the same reign the earliest reference (IV, 589) to he

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creation of special funds (*Gañjas*) for which separate revenues were assigned and which were worked by separate officers. A later king, Śaṃkaravarman (883-902 A.D.), according to Ḳalhaṇa (V, 167), established two revenue offices namely the *Aṭṭapatibhāga* ('the share of the lord of the market') and the *Gṛhakṛtya* ('domestic affairs'). The former evidently was entrusted with the collection of the royal market dues, which can be traced back to the *Arthaśāstra*. The latter, which was in charge of one treasurer and five secretaries (V, 177), was entrusted with raising the revenue, as later references (V, 176; VII, 1428 etc.) indicate, from manipulation of weights and measures, from fines on villagers, from fees levied on domestic occasions and so forth. Śaṃkaravarman's exactions extended (V, 167-176) to spoliations of temple-properties and temple-corporations (*parṣad*) as well as systematic levy of forced labour and other imposts from the villagers. As the author ruefully complains (V, 179-181), the result of the king's measures was that the Kāyasthas (officials), 'those sons of slaves', alone rose in power, while the learned lost all respect and the kings their royal dignity. Thus, as the author writes severely in his concluding judgment (V, 178), "This foolish [ruler] accepted [residence in] hell for himself, in order to benefit by his sinful acts future kings or the functionaries." Coming to later reigns, Kalhaṇa refers (VI, 136) to financial exactions under king Parvagupta (949-950 A.D.). During the regency of Queen Diddā a low-born upstart holding the office of head of the treasury created a new revenue office and certain new imposts (VI, 266). A later king, Saṃgrāmarāja (1003-1028 A.D.) is spoken of (VII, 110) as fleecing his subjects. King Ananta (1028-1063 A.D.) is mentioned (VII, 144, 147, 189-94) not only as wasting his revenues on his favourites but also as planning the sacrilegious destruction of divine images. In the same reign a wicked minister is said (VII, 203) to have introduced an impost of 1/12 while his good successor is said (VII, 211-212) to have abolished the royal privilege of marking the gold according to quality and price in order to remove the chance of oppression by later kings. King Kalaśa (1063-1089 A.D.), Ananta's son and successor, is mentioned (VII, 367) as raising a loan from rich persons, when marching against his father. Among Kalaśa's wicked acts immediately before his death are mentioned (VII, 696-97) his sacrilegious destruction of some divine images and confiscation of properties of those who died without issue. These exactions were out-done by Kalaśa's son Harṣa (1089-1101 A.D.) who carried out a wholesale spoliation of

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temple-properties as well as defilement and destruction of divine images, and thus earned for himself the epithet of 'the Turuṣka' (VII, 1095). In connection with these exactions the tyrant is said (VII, 1091; 1103-04) to have created a number of new offices like those of the *Devotpāṭanānāyaka* (prefect for the overthrow of divine images) and the *Arthanāyaka* (prefect of property). In the reign of Kalhaṇa's contemporary king Jayasiṃha an unruly *Ḍāmara* is said (VIII, 2010) to have, after imprisoning the king's officers, 'collected the customs at the watch-station and had his own name stamped in red lead on the wares as if he were the king'. This illustrates a method of receiving payment of tolls which has its antecedent in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. Reference is made (VIII, 1428) in the same reign to exactions of taxes on various auspicious occasions. (On the above cf. the present writer's *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 249-252).

An interesting sidelight is thrown by Kalhaṇa on municipal administration in his own time. To the credit of a bravo who had earned the office of City Prefect by a political murder at the king's bidding, Kalhaṇa records (VIII, 3334 ff.) that this officer first remedied the long-standing abuses such as the disuse of cash in commercial transactions and the imposition of fines on householders for moral lapses of married women. But afterwards the same official punished many persons on the plea that they had received dancing girls in their households as married wives.

A unique interest belongs to the enlightened reign of Avantivarman (855/6-883 A.D.) because of the extensive drainage and irrigation works constructed under the king's orders by an officer of untutored genius called Suyya. The land of Kashmir, says the chronicler in introducing his account (V, 84-121), was always liable to devastating floods of the Mahāpadma (Volur) lake and the many streams. Volunteering his services for preventing this calamity, Suyya by a very simple but ingenious contrivance deepened the bed of the Vitastā (Jhelam) at its two ends (the village Nandaka in Maḍavarājya and the gorge Yakṣadara or 'the demon's cleft' in Kramarājya), cleaned the river-bed at its bottom after constructing a temporary stone dam, constructed new beds for the river at all threatened points and built protective stone embankments for seven *yojanas* (nearly 42 miles) along the river bank (apparently up its course above the Volur lake). (See Stein's notes on V, 85; 87; 103). With his usual topographic accuracy Kalhaṇa tells us how Suyya in the course of these operations shifted the junction of the Vitastā and the Sindhu from its old to its

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existing position. On the land raised from the water by Suyya's efforts he founded many villages protected by circular dykes. These measures were followed up by the construction of extensive irrigation-works according to strictly technical processes described by the chronicler. Well might the enthusiastic author, steeped in Brahmanical lore, appraise Suyya's achievement in a single birth as equalling that of the God Viṣṇu in his four incarnations of Varāha, Paraśurāma, Rāmacandra and Kṛṣṇa. With his usual appreciation of concrete facts the author concludes by quoting the resulting fall in the price of rice, the staple produce of the valley. Formerly the average price of one *khārī* of rice was 200 *dīnnāras* in good years and as high as 1050 *dīnnāras* in times of famine. But it was reduced to 36 *dīnnāras* after Suyya's changes.

Pious foundations and buildings of cities

With characteristic antiquarian zeal Kalhaṇa records from the earliest times (those of the lost 52 kings) down to his own time innumerable foundations of temples and the like by pious kings, queens, ministers and other officials and their wives. While the oldest references probably rest on popular tradition alone, those from the Kārkoṭa dynasty onwards have undoubtedly a historical basis. In one interesting passage (VIII, 2414) Kalhaṇa singles out Diddā among queens and Sussalā (wife of Jayasiṃha's minister Rilhaṇa) among ministers' wives as occupying the foremost rank for their numerous religious foundations. Foremost among the builders of towns and their shrines are the kings Pravarasena II (2nd half of the 6th century), Lalitāditya (1st half of the 8th century) and Avantivarman (855/6—883 A.D.). The first is credited with the construction of Pravarapura (on the site of modern Śrīnagar) with its shrines of Viṣṇu Jayasvāmin and Śiva Pravareśvara. The second built the magnificent Mārtaṇḍa temple and the great city of Parihāsapura with its splendid temples of Viṣṇu Muktākeśava, Parihāsakeśava and Govardhanadhara as well as the equally famous Buddhist Rājavihāra and the colossal Buddha image. The third built the city of Avantipura with its temples of Viṣṇu Avantisvāmin and Śiva Avantīśvara. (For full archaeological notes on the above see the references quoted in Stein, I, Introd. pp. 84-85, 92, 97. See also *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1914-15, 1916-17, and Ram Chandra Kak, *The Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London 1933, pp. 118-25, 131-35, 146-49).

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Charitable endowments

Connected with the above are Kalhaṇa's references to the creation of charitable endowments of various sorts by a number of royal and other donors. From the time of the lost 52 kings onwards Kalhaṇa records numerous instances of the grant of *agrahāras* and *maṭhas* (hospices) by the kings, queens, high officials and their wives and so forth (For references see Stein, II, Index *s.v. agrahāra* and *maṭha*). As regards other endowments of a similar nature, king Narendrāditya I (Khiṅkhila) is said (I, 347) to have founded a permanent endowment (*akṣayiṇī*) for the feeding of Brahmans. Of the saintly queen of Tuñjina I we are told (II, 58) that she established a hospice (*sattra*) 'where multitudes of indigent people coming from all parts receive food even at the present day'. A later king, Raṇāditya I, is said (III, 461) to have established a hospital (*ārogyaśālā*) for the healing of sick people. Coming to historical times, a minister of king Jayāpīḍa is mentioned (IV, 494) as the author of a charity foundation (*ḥhaktaśālā*) while the 'foremost Kāyastha' of king Ananta's time is said (VII, 149) to have built a *maṭha* for the blind (*andhamaṭha*). King Yaśaskara is credited (VI, 87) with the foundation of a maṭha "for students from Āryadeśa who were devoting themselves to the acquisition of knowledge." Among the greedy and oppressive officials of king Sussala's reign Kalhaṇa singles out (VIII, 570-71) a Kāyastha who created a permanent endowment for the distribution of food (*avicchinnasattra*) giving relief to famine-stricken people from various foreign lands. Of the minister Rilhaṇa's wife Sussalā above-mentioned we are told (VIII, 2416) that she constructed all kinds of pious works such as water-wheels, wells and halls for students.

It speaks much for Kalhaṇa's honesty as a historian that he faithfully records the pious foundations of admittedly bad rulers and ministers. To take one conspicuous instance, he mentions, though as an example of the inscrutability of the human mind, the foundation of a Śaiva shrine by Mihirakula, a monster of cruelty. From the latter's tainted hands we are told (I, 305-7) *agrahāras* were received by Brahmans from Gandhāra "resembling himself in their habits and verily themselves the lowest of the twice-born". As the instance just quoted shows, Kalhaṇa has no praise for pious acts proceeding from such tainted sources. Especially bitter is his denunciation of those evil rulers of the 'modern' period who despoiled foundations of previous kings for benefiting their own. Thus in denouncing the tyrant Śaṃkaravarman for building his town out of the spoils of Lalitāditya's

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capital of Parihāsapura, he speaks (V, 160) with bitter satire of the 'poets and kings of these modern times' who 'augment their own work by plundering the poems or the property of others.' Describing the erection of a Śaiva temple by Kṣemagupta out of the spoils of a famous Buddhist *vihāra* and other decayed temples, Kalhaṇa comments severely (VI, 174) upon the folly of those who feel elated in robbing the property of others but are ignorant of the same fate overtaking their own constructions. When speaking of the pious foundation of a prince of his own time, Kalhaṇa says with bitter irony (VIII, 3351), "This pure-minded man, though he was one of our time, did not proceed to plunder other foundations and to make grants of the property of poor people." On the other hand Kalhaṇa expresses (VII, 122) his appreciation of the good sense of Saṃgrāmarāja who did not establish even a drinking-place on the ground that 'the wealth he owned was unlawfully acquired.'

References to scholars and poets

As a scholar and poet, it was quite natural for Kalhaṇa to be interested in the growth of learning in his land and the lives and fortunes of his fellow-poets. According to a tradition recorded by him (I, 176) Candragomin and other scholars acting under the orders of king Abhimanyu I (one of the lost kings) revived the study of the Mahābhāsya which had fallen into disuse through the absence of teachers and texts. (The above follows the reading and translation of Stein in preference to those of Kielhorn *IA.*, V, 107). A similar claim is made (IV, 488) evidently on more authentic grounds on behalf of king Jayāpīḍa. Turning to another point, we find Kalhaṇa mentioning (II, 16) a great poet Candaka, the author of a remarkable but unnamed play, as being the contemporary of king Tuñjīna I. Coming to the historical period, king Jayāpīḍa is said (IV, 489 ff.) to have achieved enduring fame for his scholarship, while he is said to have bestowed his patronage upon the grammarian Kṣīra (probably identical with the well-known *Amarakośa* commentator), the Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa (author of the famous *Alaṃkāraśāstra*) and the poet Dāmodaragupta (described as the author of the *Kuṭṭanīmata*). King Avantivarman is praised (V, 33 ff.) for his patronage of the poets Ānandavardhana (author of the well-known work called the *Dhvanyāloka*) and Ratnākara (known to be the author of the *Haravijaya* poem). The brilliant and accomplished Harṣa in the early and glorious part of his reign is said (VII, 934-37) to have been such a

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lavish patron of scholars that Bilhaṇa, the Kashmirian poet, enjoining high favour of the contemporary Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI thought even his great splendour a deception. On the other hand Kalhaṇa has too much honesty to omit mentioning a number of wicked kings who earned infamy by ignoring men of letters. Under the tyrant Śaṃkaravarman, we are told, (V, 204-206) poets like Bhallaṭa had to lead the meanest existence while a load-carrier drew a pay of 2000 *dīnnāras*. As the chronicler exclaims in indignant language, this boorish king 'who did not speak the language of the gods but used vulgar speech fit for drunkards' proved by his act his descent from a family of spirit-distillers.

Military affairs

Nothing in the *Rājatarangiṇī* is more surprising than Kalhaṇa's accurate and minute descriptions of military operations forming a considerable portion of the troubled history of Kashmir during later times. Again and again the author gives details of the routes of armies (including the distances and the seasons) which Stein's industrious research has proved to fit in exactly with facts. What, however, constitutes his unique merit among the authors of historical *Kāvyas* is that he gives technical details of the marches, battles and sieges befitting a truly military historian. To take a few instances, Kalhaṇa strongly criticises (VII, 48 ff.) through the mouth of 'the illustrious Śāhī Trilocanapālā' (of the Hindu Śāhīya dynasty) the rashness and incompetence of his Kashmirian ally Tuṅga (the minister of king Saṃgrāmarāja) in the fight against 'Hammīra' 'the leader of the Turuṣka army' (i.e. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna). Noticing that Tuṅga 'gave no thought to night-watches, the posting of scouts, to military exercises and other (preparations) proper for an attack', the Śāhi urged him, but in vain, to take up his position on the scarp of a hill till he had become familiar with 'the Turuṣka warfare.' The rejection of this wise advice led to the utter rout of the confederate host, with the result that it 'brought about the descent of the Turuṣkas on the whole surface of the earth.' Again, when speaking (VII, 968 ff.) of an expedition against the hill-state of Rājapurī in Harṣa's reign, Kalhaṇa carefully notes how the royal army delayed on the route 'fearing the heat of the Āṣāḍha month', and he mentions how at last success followed from the royal commander's ingenious contrivance of throwing burning arrows smeared with vegetable oil which made the enemy credit him with the

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possession of 'the weapon of fire'. In connection with the siege of Srinagar by the rebellous Ḍāmaras in Sussala's reign, Kalhaṇa's minute description (VIII, 729 ff. with Stein's notes) enables us to understand how the city was invested by different bodies of rebels from the south (on the bank of the Kṣiptikā stream), the north (by way of Amareśvara) and the east (on the Mahāsarit stream). The roads were kept in uproar with the troops marching out with music, with the return of the wounded, with the flight of routed soldiers and so forth. The king whose courageous defence of the capital is highly praised by the chronicler, personally arranged for the treatment of the wounded, and encouraged his troops with gift of 'marching allowances, gratuities and medicines'. The rebels attacking from the east, being no match for the king's strong cavalry, marched by a narrow path along the embankment across the marshes lining the north of the (Ḍāl) lake. "As they were strong in archers, they came off best in the fight in the narrow embankment across the lake". The king, disheartened by the treachery and mutiny of his troops and disaffection of his subjects, left the capital for the family stronghold of Lohara by a circuitous route which Stein very aptly explains by a reference to the advanced season. The date of the king's flight is given as 'the 6th day of the dark half of Mārgaśiras in the year of the Laukika era 4196' (i.e. Nov. 13th, 1120 A.D.). Equally admirable is Kalhaṇa's detailed account (for which reference may be made to VIII, 1076 ff. along with Stein's notes) of the fresh siege of Śrīnagar by the rebels in 1122 A.D., the year following Sussala's restoration. Even more impressive is Kalhaṇa's account (VIII, 2505 ff.) of the siege and capture of the rebel stronghold of Śiraḥśilā situated in a most inhospitable territory on the north-west frontier by king Jayasiṃha's forces in 1140 A.D. Not only is the site of the castle (cf. VIII, 2492) where it is said to be situated between the Sindhu river and the streams of the Madhumatī and the Muktāśrī) as well as the peculiar shape of its hill (cf. VIII, 2528 where it is said to be 'narrow below where it projects into the stream and with a long stretched ridge') described with the author's usual accuracy, but also the physical and climatic conditions of the country around are clearly indicated (cf. VIII, 2510-11 where reference is made to its 'trees of darkness' and its 'terrible' winter owing to the heavy snowfall). These data have enabled Stein to identify the site with the Gaṇeś Ghāṭī ridge situated on the Kiṣangaṅgā about 2½ miles below the ancient shrine of Śāradā now called Śardi. Kalhaṇa's detailed account of the preparations

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for the siege made by the royal forces have been shown by Stein to be in complete agreement with the physical and climatic conditions of the site. The 'Lord of the Gate' Udaya, as we learn from the chronicler, posted himself at the Draṅga or frontier watch-station, which has been identified by Stein with the little village of the same name 'situated on the direct route from the Uttar *pargaṇā* to the Śāradā Tīrtha (Śārdi) on the Kiṣangaṅgā'. Stein explains this by reference to the strategic importance of the village which, being the meeting place of several valleys extending down from the water-shed to the Kiṣangaṅgā, forms an excellent position for preventing the enemy's retreat into Kashmir proper. The other royal general Dhanya built rows of wooden huts for the besieging forces on the bank of the Madhumatī. This step, according to Stein, was most necessary, as the Kiṣangaṅgā valley has sufficient level ground only near Śārdi above which the land is almost uninhabitable for a considerable distance, while the climate owing to the heavy rain and snowfall and the extensive forests and numerous neighbouring snowy peaks is even colder than what might be expected from its elevation of 6500 ft. above sea-level. The king, Kalhaṇa continues, sent his generals immense supplies, a measure which, Stein says, was rendered necessary by the inhospitable nature of the country around Śardi. The means of transport was the same oppressive system of forced labour which, as Stein observes, was used for the annual transport of stores for the Gilgit garrison until the building of the Gilgit road a few years before his time. Though the royal troops bravely held their own for three or four months, they were unable to make any impression, as they neglected to cut off the enemy's food supplies. At length they were led by the direct orders of the resolute king to lay a regular siege to the castle. Leaving his camp on the Madhumatī bank, general Dhanya advanced to the main approach to the castle and built a continuous line of block-houses whence at night he kept up fires burning so that 'even an ant could not move about without being noticed'. Dhanya further blocked the enemy's access to the water by keeping boats constantly plying about on the river. Explaining these details with reference to the local topography, Stein says that the high ridge to the south of the castle which was its main approach and must have been occupied by Dhanya would enable him to cut off the enemy's supplies from the neighbouring hamlets and prevent all exits from the fort. Again, the keeping of boats (or rather rafts) for preventing access to the river which flows both to the north and west of the castle, 'would be

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practicable in the low water of the winter season when the siege took place by fastening the rafts to ropes fixed on the opposite river-bank north of the castle'. In the result the rebel Ḍāmara leader was so much afflicted with privations of food and drink that he surrendered two of the pretenders who had taken refuge with him to the royalists. The victorious general raised the siege and returned to the capital in triumph. (On the above, see Stein, II, Appendix, Note I: *The Castle of Śirahśilā*, and his notes on VIII, 2507, 2509-13, and 2583).

Foreign relations

Kalhaṇa's full and detailed narrative of reigns and dynasties throws valuable light from time to time upon the foreign relations of the kingdom during the past centuries. It is indeed to be regretted that he is completely silent about the political power of Kashmir at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit (*c.* 631-33 A.D.) probably during the reign of Durlabhavardhana, when the kingdom, according to the Chinese pilgrim, exercised sovereignty over all adjacent countries on the west and south down to the Punjab plains. (For references see Stein I, *Introduction*, p. 87). Making all allowance for Kalhaṇa's exaggerations we may say that the Kashmirian power undoubtedly reached its height in the reign of Lalitāditya, who indeed is credited by the chronicler (IV, 146 ff.) with a victorious march all over India as well as extensive conquests of fabled lands on the west and north. The independent evidence of the Annals of the T'ang dynasty shows how Lalitāditya used both arms and diplomacy to curb the menace of the Tibetan power, for the Kashmirian king claimed not only to have won repeated victories over his northern neighbours and made common cause against them with a king of Central India, but also invited the help of a considerable Chinese force against the common enemy (See Stein I, *Introduction*, p. 91). On the other hand the author's account of the foreign expeditions of Jayāpīḍa resolves itself, as Stein well observes (*Introduction*, p. 95), into a mass of mere legendary anecdotes. The expedition of Śaṃkaravarman, inspite of Kalhaṇa's magniloquent description (IV, 136 ff.), appears from his own account to have been confined to the Southern hill-states and the adjoining Punjab plain and to have been attended with indifferent success. But it brought Kashmir at any rate into contact with the powerful Hindu Śāhīya kingdom under its first king Lallīya Śāhi. This contact was renewed in the reign of Gopālavarman (902-904 A.D.) when the powerful minister Prabhākaradeva (V, 232-33) vanquished the rebel-

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lious Śāhi of Udabhāṇḍapura (i.e. Sāmanta, the second Śāhi ruler in Alberuni's list) and bestowed the throne upon Toramāṇa-Kamaluka (i.e. Kamalu, the third king of Alberuni's list). The traditional connection was renewed when Bhīma Śāhi, the next king of the dynasty, had his daughter's daughter Diddā married to king Kṣemagupta and he built a Viṣṇu temple in her adoptive country VI, 177-78. Again, when Trilocanapāla the last independent king of the dynasty sought the help of Saṃgrāmarāja against the forces of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, the minister Tuṅga marched out (VII, 47 ff.) with a large army but shared in the disastrous defeat which, to quote Kalhaṇa's words, 'brought about the descent of the Turuṣkas on the whole surface of the earth' (VII, 70). Ordinarily, however, the political relations, friendly or hostile, of Kashmir were confined to the petty hill-states on its frontiers. Among the more important of such states were the kingdoms of Kāṣṭhavāṭa (modern Kistwar on the upper Chinab) and Campa (modern Chamba on the upper Ravi), the hill-states of the Dārvābhisāra (the lower and midde hills between the Chinab and the Jhelum) including above all Rājapurī (modern Rajauri) and Lohara (modern Loharin on the north-west of Rajauri), the kingdom of Uraśā (modern Hazara district between the Jhelum and the Indus), Daradadeśa or the territory of the Darads on the upper Kiṣangaṅgā, the territory of the Bhauṭṭas (or Tibetans) comprising as early as in Chinese times the tracts of Baltistan and Ladakh. Of these states Rājapurī, no doubt because of its situation on the most direct route to the Punjab, was often brought into close relations with Kashmir. From the 10th century onwards Rājapurī was practically an independent state, though the Kashmir rulers (as Kalhaṇa tells us) frequently sent expeditions into the country. The adjoining hill-state of Lohara was intimately connected with Kashmir from the beginning of the 11th century when a branch of its ruling family ascended the Kashmir throne. Subsequently this branch succeeded also to Lohara which became the family stronghold of the Kashmirian kings and as such played a conspicuous part in the history of the kingdom. [On the above see Stein II, *Memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kaśmīr*, Ch. IV, Section I.]

Famine, flood and fire

With his characteristic passion for facts Kalhaṇa has several times recorded careful details of natural calamities that overtook his native land in the past. Already in the reign of Tuñjīna I, one of the ancient kings,

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we hear (II, 17-54) of a great famine which was relieved by the noble-hearted king and his saintly queen. Coming down to the historical period, Kalhaṇa mentions (V, 270-78) a dreadful famine, resulting from a devastating flood, to have taken place in 917-18 A.D. during the misrule of the tyrant Pārtha and his wicked ministers. The chronicler vividly illustrates the resulting rise in prices by saying that 1 *khārī* of rice sold for 1000 *dīnnāras*. In the reign of Abhimanyu I (958-972 A.D.) a great conflagration broke out at Śrīnagar, of which the extent is carefully noted by the chronicler (cf. VI, 190-191 where the fire is said to have started from near the Tuṅgeśvara market and spread as far as Bhikṣukīpāraka near the shrine of Viṣṇu Vardhanasvāmin and destroyed the great buildings within the limits of 'Vetāla's measuring-line'). A great famine caused, as before, by a flood swept over the country in 1099-1100 A.D. (VII, 1219 ff.), when king Harṣa was oppressing his subjects and a plague was raging. The cumulative effect of the people's sufferings is well described by the author in the following words: 'On this land which suffered wounds, as it were, of the king's infliction there fell also another series of calamities which were like caustics thrown (on those wounds)' (VII, 1216). What terrible havoc was caused by this outbreak is illustrated by Kalhaṇa with reference to the famine prices of some principal commodities. These are given as 500 *dīnnāras* for 1 *khārī* of rice, 1 *dīnnāra* for 2 *palas* (i.e. as Stein calculates, 960 *dīnnāras* for 1 *khārī*) of grape juice and 6 *dīnnāras* for 1 *pala* (i.e. according to Stein's calculations 11,520 *dīnnāras* for 1 *khārī*) of wool. 'Of salt, pepper, assafoetida and other articles it was difficult even to hear the name.' (On the above see Stein II, Appendix, Note H. *The Term Dīnnāra and the Monetary System of Kashmir*, esp. pp. 325-26. Comparing these figures with the prices of Moslem times Stein proves the extraordinary cheapness of all indigenous products in Kashmir not only in Hindu times but for centuries thereafter). In 'the terrible year of the Laukika era 4199' i.e. 1123-24 A.D., when Sussala was besieged in his capital by the rebellious Ḍāmaras, a great fire was started by them which reduced the whole city to ashes.' With his usual care Kalhaṇa records the extent of this awful calamity (cf. VIII, 1169 and 1171-72 where we are told that the fire started in the Kāṣṭhila quarter and then spread to Mākṣikasvāmin and Indradevibhavana Vihāra). This was followed by a terrible famine of which the effects are described by the chronicler with grim vividness (VIII, 1206 ff.).

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Miscellaneous affairs

Kalhaṇa's interest in the past history of his native land is not confined to the affairs of finance and justice, pious constructions, peace and war. Among king Kalaśa's good acts during the latter part of his reign is mentioned (VII, 606) the king's introduction of a taste for choral songs (*upāṅgagīta*) and a careful selection of female dances 'as customary in other lands'. The accomplished Harṣa in the early part of his reign is said to have introduced into his court (VII, 921 ff.) gorgeous fashions of dress and ornament and adopted a new coin-type borrowed from the gold-coinage of Karṇāṭa.

Military usurpation of power

In the course of his work Kalhaṇa has occasion to describe the terrible evils of the usurpation of power by the military forces of the Crown. For nearly 30 years (904-36 A.D.) an organised body of foot-soldiers called Tantrins was so powerful as to make and unmake kings at their will in the fashion of the Praetorian Guard of the Roman Empire in the early centuries of the Christian era. The kings who were in the service of the Tantrins ousted one another 'like village officials' by offering greater and greater bribes. As the chronicler writes (V, 266) with patriotic grief and shame, "In this land, the rulers of which had conquered Kānyakubja and other (countries), the kings (now) maintained themselves by giving bills of exchange to the Tantrins". It was during this period that the kingdom was overtaken by the severe famine of 917-18 A.D. to which reference has been made immediately above. The callous indifference shown by the evil king and his ministers is condemned (V, 278) by the chronicler in words of pathetic contrast with the good old times: "Thus demons of kings led to destruction at that time those subjects who had been dear to Tuñjīna [I], Candrāpīḍa and other protectors of the people". The series of short inglorious reigns during this time is compared by the chronicler (V, 279) with 'the bubbles produced in the water by a downpour of rain on a dull day'. The evil lives of licentious queens (V, 281-286) who competed for the favour of powerful ministers completed the sombre picture. When at last the power of the Tantrins was broken by a great victory won by king Cakravarman in 936 A.D., the chronicler could exultingly say (V, 338-40) that the victor had like a great snake destroyed those evil Tantrins who had like cruel snake-charmers reduced princes

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'deserving of respect, unapproachable and of great descent' to helplessness and had wantonly exposed them to public shame.

Feudal anarchy

A potent source of misrule in Kashmir in later times was the rise to power of the Ḍāmaras, the landholding barons great and small. Already during the reign of king Avantivarman, reference is made to a powerful member of this class who rendered himself obnoxious by plundering temple endowments and was deservedly put to death in a summary fashion by the king's faithful minister Śūra. It was with the help of Ḍāmaras, as Kalhaṇa informs us, that Cakravarman won his great victory over the Tantrins to which reference has been made just now. From the accession of the Lohara dynasty in 1003 A.D. Kalhaṇa's narrative shows how the Ḍāmaras acquired such military and political influence as to become an unending danger to the royal authority. Harṣa made a notable attempt to exterminate this turbulent class, but the attempt cost him his throne and his life. The succeeding reigns down to Kalhaṇa's own time form almost a continuous record of struggles between the central authority and the Ḍāmaras or else between the different sections of the Ḍāmaras themselves, that were aided by the rise of successive pretenders (On the above see Stein II, Appendix, Note G, *The Ḍāmaras*, where full references are given. To Stein belongs the credit of first clearly explaining the meaning of Ḍāmara). We shall see later how Kalhaṇa's painful experience of the habitual lawlessness of the Ḍāmaras coloured his judgment on this class as a whole.

Historical portraits

In analysing the contents of Kalhaṇa's great work we have reserved for consideration in the last place his remarkable series of character-sketches. In truth it may be said of Kalhaṇa that he stands unique among the known authors of historical *kāvyas* for the individuality of his historical portraits. From the commencement of the historical period and specially for his recent times the throng of characters—kings, queens, ministers and other officials, territorial nobles, courtiers, parasites, pretenders—that fills the stage in Kalhaṇa's narrative appear before us in the reality of their ordinary lives and experiences. Even the groups and classes of people like the Brahman assemblies and the priestly corporations, the native and foreign soldiery, the

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merchants and officials, are reproduced before our eyes with all their characteristic weaknesses or strong points. We propose to illustrate this point by giving a brief retrospect of the period from the beginning of the Utpala dynasty onwards. Avantivarman, the founder of the dynasty, is presented before us as an able ruler generous towards his subjects (cf. V, 18: The wise Avantivarman gave away the whole treasure in alms and allowed only the regal caurīs and parasol to remain of that splendour'), affectionate towards his relations and followers (cf. V, 42: 'Avantivarman who was free from jealousy granted permanent royal prerogatives to his uterine brothers and Śūra and the latter's son'), lavish in his pious foundations (V, 23 ff.). A pretty anecdote recorded about him (V, 17) proves him to be above royal conventions and formalities. The king was served with equal zeal and ability by his minister Śūra (cf. V, 63: 'Such a king and such a minister whose relations were never disfigured by the blemish of mutual hatred have not otherwise been seen or heard of'), who is praised (V, 33 ff.) for his patronage of learning and his pious foundations. An anecdote told of him illustrates his deep loyalty to the king and his strict justice awarded without respect for rank or personal relations. This relates to the story of his summary execution of a powerful Ḍāmara, his own favourite, who had roused the king's displeasure by plunder of temple property. The chronicler tells a touching story (V, 43 and 124) relating how the king, although a Vaiṣṇava, acted as a Śaiva out of deference to his Śaiva minister, but at the approach of death confessed with folded hands his Vaiṣṇava faith to his minister. The illustrious Suyya who shed lustre on the reign by his construction of extensive drainage and irrigation works is fittingly praised by the chronicler for his uncanny skill (cf. V, 102: 'He made the different streams, with their waves, which are like the quivering tongues of snakes, move about according to his will just as a conjurer does with the snakes'). He is also mentioned (V, 120) for his grant of a village called after his own name to the Brahmans. Śaṃkaravarman, son and successor of Avantivarman, at first won fame as a conqueror and builder, but afterwards turned into a cruel oppressor of his subjects. Great point is given to the author's condemnation of the tyrant by an imaginary remonstrance put into the mouth of the noble-hearted Prince Gopālavarman to which the king replies in a brutally cynical speech ending with the words: 'You yourself should grant me to-day this one boon. May you not after ascending the throne oppress your subjects even

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more!' (V, 202). Under the weak successors of Gopālavarman the kingdom fell a prey to the Tantrins, the Praetorian Guard of Kashmirian history, to whom reference has been made above. Cakravarman who crushed the power of the Tantrins by a great victory made himself infamous by raising a Caṇḍāla woman to the rank of Chief Queen and making her relatives and followers his ministers and favourites (cf. V, 391: 'Robbers as ministers, a Śvapāka woman as queen, Śvapākas as friends: What wonders were left for king Cakravarman to achieve?'). The baseness of the ministers who with a few honourable exceptions stooped to flatter the upstarts and of the degraded Brahmans who accepted *agrahāras* from the sinful king is justly condemned (V, 389-393; 403) by Kalhaṇa. The author's injured Brahmanical pride manifests itself in indignant denunciation of the presumption of the Caṇḍāla queen in entering divine temples (V, 394) and bitter satire on the arrogance and boorishness of her father who rebuked a high official in the vernacular for neglecting to carry out the royal orders for granting a village to himself (V, 397-398). When the king at length was justly murdered by some Ḍāmaras, Kalhaṇa could say that 'the wicked lover of the Śvapākī' was 'killed by robbers like a dog' (V, 413). His successor was 'the evil ruler resembling a demon', justly called the 'mad Avanti'. The evil deeds of 'this most degraded of kings' included indulgence in coarse buffooneries, the brutal murder of his father and other relatives, and atrocious cruelties towards women and labourers (V, 414-48).

Yaśaskara who was elected to the throne by a Brahman assembly after the extinction of the Utpala dynasty is described by Kalhaṇa as a king of great wisdom, ability and justice whose rule was an unmixed blessing to the subjects (VI, 6-13). With some inconsistency however, the same king is elsewhere (VI, 70ff.) stigmatised for amassing riches, for treachery in getting rid of Tantrins and for private vices. Kalhaṇa describes with moving pathos the sad end of this king who, afflicted with a painful disease and retiring to a sacred spot to die, was deserted by most of his followers, was robbed by some others and was at length poisoned by those who were anxious to seize the kingdom. Among other characters of this period we may mention the villainous and scheming minister Parvagupta, born in a humble writer's family but filled with the unholy ambition of seizing the throne on seeing 'kings who were like worms' ever since the rise of the Tantrins to power (V, 421). Instigating the tyrant 'the mad Avanti' to destroy his own family, Parvagupta deceived even the good king Yaśaskara

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into giving him a high office and repayed his benefactor by robbing him on his death-bed (VII, 102-3; 118). Parvagupta found his opportunity after the accession of the child-king Saṃgrāmadeva, Yaśaskara's son and successor, when he quickly seized the supreme power and assumed royal honours. Failing to destroy the child by witchcraft, he suddenly attacked the palace and killed the king, and seized the throne (VI, 121-125). Other base acts recorded of him by the chronicler, included his pandering to Avanti's buffooneries and cruelties (V, 420 ff.) and lusting though in vain, for a nobleminded queen of Yaśaskara (VI, 138-144). In the following half-century the most outstanding figure of Kashmirian history was Diddā, Queen of Parvagupta's son and successor Kṣemagupta. Descended on her mother's side from the illustrious Śāhi dynasty of Udabhāṇḍapura, she gained complete ascendancy over her worthless husband, after whose death she ruled successively as regent for her son and three grandsons and at length by her own right. Cruel and self-indulgent, with a strong touch of feminine inconsistency (cf. VI, 193: 'The king's mother and guardian, confused in her mind and listening to every body, after woman's wont, did not reflect what was true and what not'), of a nature intensely suspicious, not too proud to conciliate disaffected Ḍāmaras (cf. VI, 282: 'The queen, fearing a rebellion, disregarded the shame of humiliation and exerted herself to appease them. How can those who are absorbed by selfishness have a sense of honour?'), with an insatiable thirst for power, she was yet gifted with high political and diplomatic talents, with capacity for firm action (cf. VI, 256-58 where she is said to have exterminated 'those treacherous ministers who during sixty years from the year of the Laukika era 3977, had robbed sixteen kings from king Gopālavarman to Abhimanyu of their dignity, lives and riches'), with a short spell of pious devotion towards deities and tender regard for her subject's welfare (cf. VI, 295, 'From that time forward the wealth which she had acquired by evil acts became purified through her astonishing deeds of piety'; VI, 297: 'From the time that he had roused in her the priceless affection for her people and she had abandoned her evil ways, the queen became esteemed by everyone'). Among Diddā's ministers may be mentioned Phalguna, a faithful counsellor of Yaśaskara and Kṣemagupta, 'who out-shone all by his counsel, courage, energy and other good qualities' (VI, 199), and having nobly sought refuge from the queen's unjust persecutions in voluntary exile, returned to her service at her call and served her faithfully till his death. Even the queen

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felt such respect for his character that she concealed her cruelty and malignity till his death after which she 'committed hundredfold excesses by open misconduct' (VI, 314). An equally attractive and still more honourable character was 'the faithful Naravāhana, the best of ministers' (VI, 260), who again and again proved his loyalty and valour by singly fighting the rebels but was at last driven to commit suicide by the queen's unjust suspicions. His sad end is said by the chronicler (VI, 278) to be befitting a man with a high sense of honour. Less attractive is the figure of Yaśodhara who deserted the rebels to accept the office of Commander-in-Chief from the queen and afterwards, going over, to the enemy's side was captured and justly punished by his infuriated sovereign (VI, 218 ff.). Of a decidedly evil type are the ministers Rakka and Sindhu who poisoned the queen's ears against her most faithful servants (VI, 233; 267). Sindhu's brother Bhuyya, on the other hand, is praised by the chronicler for encouraging the queen in her pious acts and rousing in her 'the priceless affection for her people'.

Saṃgrāmarāja, who ascended the Kashmir throne by Diddā's nomination and became the founder of the Lohara dynasty, is described by the chronicler as indolent and pleasure-loving and yet of sufficient spirit to resent the domination of the all-powerful minister Tuṅga (cf. VII, 72: "The king felt annoyed at his dependence on Tuṅga; even an animal's spirit is pained by dependence on others'). The king disgraced himself by causing the assassination of Tuṅga by base treachery and by conferring offices on wicked and incapable men after the latter death. Tuṅga who was the son of a Khaśa villager from the neighbouring territory of Parṇotsa and was raised by Diddā's favour to the high office of Prime-Minister, is described by Kalhaṇa as a man of great courage and capacity which failed him in his unfamiliar warfare with Hammīra (Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna) and afterwards in his choice of low-born favourites like the Kāyasthas Bhadreśvara and Candramukha to high offices. Harirāja son of Saṃgrāmarāja who enjoyed a short reign of only 22 days is warmly praised by the chronicler for the efficiency and goodness of his rule (VII, 129: 'He whose orders were never infringed cleared the land of thieves and prohibited the closing of doors in the market-street at night'). On the other hand the queen-mother Śrīlekhā is justly blamed by the chronicler for her licentious character and her unnatural thirst for power (VII, 123 ff. and 133 ff.). Kalhaṇa's description of Ananta, son and successor of Harirāja, shows us a

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king possessing high courage in fighting rebellious Ḍāmaras and tender solicitude for his faithful troops (VII, 156 ff.), but wasteful and extravagant 'like one born on the throne' (cf. VII, 144ff. mentioning the exorbitant salaries of 1½ lakh and 80,000 *dinnāras* daily drawn by two of the king's Śāhi favourites: also cf. VII, 188 ff. describing the king's extravagant gifts to his favourite horse-trainers and two foreigners one of whom took the throne and diadem as the security for his debt). Towards the end of his long reign he fell completely under the influence of his Queen Sūryamatī (cf. VII, 199: 'From that time onwards it was the queen who took the king's business in hand, while the king left off talking about his prowess and did what he was bid to do'), who at first led him to a virtuous life (cf. VII, 201: 'Wise Anantadevi surpassed even the *munis* by his devotion to Śiva, his vows, bathings, liberality, morals and other virtues') and brought him the services of the wise and faithful minister Haladhara and the latter's valiant nephew Bimba (VII, 208 ff.). But the same queen afterwards induced the king against the advice of his wise ministers to abdicate the throne in favour of their unworthy son Kalaśa. Even when Ananta resumed the royal power, he neglected again and again under the evil influence of his Queen to chastise his son in time. Too late the king realised the baneful consequences of his submission to his wife's will (cf. the reproachful words put into Ananta's mouth, VII, 423 ff., beginning with the words, 'Pride, honour, valour, royal dignity, power, intellect, riches—what is it, alas, that I have not lost by following my wife's will') and with her counter-reproaches ringing in his ears, sought relief in suicide (cf. VII, 453 'The king who ought to have been accustomed to ease found at last occasion, freed from the worrying of his wife and son, to stretch out his legs and sleep'). The Queen Sūryamatī is described by Kalhaṇa as a wise and devoted wife (cf. VII, 197 where she is stated to have redeemed out of her own savings the royal throne and diadem taken by a foreign merchant as a security for the king's debt) and a lady of great piety (cf. VII, 180 ff. giving a list of her pious foundations and munificent gifts of *agrahāras* to Brahmans). But all her virtues were brought to naught by her blind love for her unworthy son which landed both herself and the king in endless miseries and at length forced the latter, as told above, to find refuge in suicide. The Queen nobly atoned for her fault by burning herself on the funeral pyre of her husband amid the lamentations of her people. At the last tragic scene her fine womanly qualities were shown by her eager, though vain, wish to see

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her son, her sipping the water of the sacred Vitastā for obtaining final deliverance and, last but not the least, her solemn oath attesting to the purity of her moral character. When 'she leapt with a bright smile from the litter into the flaming fire', 'the sky became encircled and reddened with sheets of flame just as if the gods, in order to celebrate her arrival had covered it with minium' (VII, 478-479). Three faithful male and as many female servants whose names are carefully recorded by the chronicler followed their unfortunate mistress to death.

King Kalaśa whose reign is described by the chronicler in great detail, is presented as a mixture of opposites (cf. VII, 534 where Kalhaṇa refers to the king's doings as being of a mixed character). Led by 'the wretched foreigners' and other evil associates in early youth into shameless debauchery (VII, 273 ff.) of which the evil effects were felt even in the king's old age (VII, 519 ff.), behaving with base ingratitude towards his doting parents (VII, 366 ff.), occasional plunderer of temple endowments (VII, 570) and sacrilegious destroyer of divine images (VII, 696), he was yet capable of vigilant watchfulness over state affairs (VII, 507 ff.), of establishing pious foundations (VII, 525 ff.) and of introducing improved fashions of song and dance (VII, 606). The very detailed account (VII, 617 ff.) of the relations between Kalaśa and his eldest son Prince Harṣa in the years immediately preceding the king's death is interesting as illustrating the mixed feelings of tenderness and suspicion which they entertained towards each other. The weak side of Kalaśa's character was shown by his retiring to die in the Mārtaṇḍa shrine, although he had been heretofore a worshipper of Śiva and had performed *tāntric* rites under the direction of Gurus (cf. VII, 712: 'The pride which he had before shown in the instructions of his Gurus was rendered ridiculous by such cowardly submission more befitting miserly wretches and the like'. In connexion with the above, Stein's mention of Kalaśa's late conversion to *Vaiṣṇava* worship (VII 712 *n.* is a slip). Kalaśa was fortunate enough to be served by a succession of able ministers who made the king's power feared and respected by the neighbouring hill rājās, eight of whom assembled to do him honour at his capital (VII, 587). Among these ministers we have to mention the valiant and faithful *rājaputra* Bijja who after serving the king with exemplary loyalty sought refuge from the king's unjust suspicion in a voluntary exile, the resourceful Vāmana whose wonderful official acts were remembered even down to Kalhaṇa's day and who alone cared to perform the king's funeral rites after

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his death, the brave Malla who won high fame by his successful invasion of Uraśā (VII, 585 ff.), the valiant but irritable Kandarpa whom Kalaśa could only with difficulty persuade to stick to his office (cf. the characteristic anecdote told of him VII, 603-04 which has every appearance of truth) and who lived to distinguish himself by his capture of Rājapurī during Harṣa's reign and being driven to exile by his ungrateful master was remembered by the latter with regret in the last days of his misery. Among the king's parasites was the villainous Viśśāvaṭṭa who first urged Harṣa to kill his father (VII, 617 ff.) and then betrayed the Prince (VII, 629) and was justly executed by the latter after his accession.

Kalhaṇa describes Utkarṣa, son and successor of Kalaśa, as a mean and miserly character whose 'only daily occupation was to inspect the hoards of the treasury and to weigh them' (VII, 756) and who thereby earned the just reprobation of his own stepmothers and his brother as well as all respectable citizens (VII, 758-760; 773-74). Among his ministers was the cruel but faithful Nonaka who advised Harṣa's execution (as he had done in the last reign) and afterwards upbraided the king for his folly in disregarding his advice (VII, 782 ff.). After Utkarṣa's death Nonaka was imprisoned and executed by Harṣa who however regretted the death of 'a man of a large mind and devoted to his master' (VIII, 890).

For sheer mixture of contradictory qualities the character of Harṣa, Utkarṣa's elder brother and successor, stands unrivalled. In an eloquent passage (VII, 868 ff.) prefacing the account of the reign, Kalhaṇa mentions the incomprehensible character of this king which was quite unlike that of other kings dealt with by him. The story of king Harṣa, he explains 'has seen the rise of all enterprises and yet tells of all failures', 'brings to light all kinds of settled plans and yet shows the absence of all policy' 'displays an excessive assertion of the ruling power and yet has witnessed excessive disregard of orders' 'tells of excessive abundance of liberality and of equally excessive persistence in confiscation' 'gives delight by an abundant display of compassion and shocks by the superabundance of murders' 'is rendered charming by the redundance of pious works and soiled by the superabundance of sins' 'is attractive on all sides and yet repulsive, worthy of praise and deserving of blame'. Even as a Prince, Harṣa is described (VII, 609-611) as 'possessed of exceptional powers', 'knowing all languages, 'a good poet in all tongues', 'a depository of all learning', who patronised distinguished men from other lands. Elsewhere

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(VII, 942) he is mentioned as the author of songs of such tender pathos that they were appreciated even during Kalhaṇa's lifetime. (That these encomiums were well deserved is proved by the almost similar terms in which the contemporary Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa writes of Harṣa in his *Vikramāṅkacarita*. See references in Stein, VII, 609-10*n*. In the same context Stein refers to the quotations of verses ascribed to a certain Harṣadeva in a number of Sanskrit anthologies). Kalhaṇa describes in striking language Harṣa's extraordinary physical frame and commanding presence (VII, 874-878) as well as the splendour and brilliance of the king's court (VII, 881 ff.). We are expressly told that Harṣa introduced new and elegant fashions of dress and ornament (VII, 921 ff.) and that he borrowed a coin-type from the Deccan. (This last statement is supported by the discovery of Harṣa's unique gold coinage imitated from the Deccan models. See Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India,* p. 34). The author also speaks (VII, 934 ff.) of Harṣa's lavish patronage of men of learning which made even Bilhaṇa enjoying the splendid patronage of the contemporary Cālukya king sigh for his favour. But such high praise was not to be bestowed upon the king for long. With well-deserved severity Kalhaṇa exposes (VII, 1001 ff.) the perversity of the king who led by evil counsellors drove his valiant and faithful Commander-in-Chief Kandarpa into exile, who executed a number of young princes without any cause, whose wholesale confiscation of temple treasures and destruction of divine images earned for him the designation of a Turuṣka, who not content with his accumulated treasures oppressed the people with imposts of all kinds. Other acts of folly mentioned (VII, 1120 ff.) by Kalhaṇa (which, as he himself says, would appear incredible to posterity) included an unholy pass on for the beautiful Cālukya Queen, the worship of slave-girls posing as goddesses and so forth. His want of moral sense 'as befitted the son of king Kalaśa' was exhibited (VII, 1147 ff.) by the liberties he took with his step-mothers and sisters, his partaking of pig's flesh etc. The king's cowardice was conspicuously displayed in his failure to take two successive fortresses, while his morbid cruelty was shown by his imposing heavy fines upon the people already afflicted with plague, flood and famine and still more by his ferocious persecution of Ḍāmaras. Well might the chronicler state that some demon had descended in the form of Harṣa 'to destroy this land hallowed by gods, tīrthas and ṛshis' (VII, 1243). The chronicler goes on to mention some of the king's peculiar habits including 'cruelty, excessive conduct, meanness and pleasure in

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doing things which befitted the god of death' which were 'like those of a goblin'.

The author's moving account of the last days of Harṣa, which is one of the master-pieces of historical description, gives us in studiously simple language the picture of a king whom an unending series of misfortunes had bereft of all resolution and wisdom and even of personal courage (cf. VII, 1454: 'His wisdom, bold resolution and decision vanished all at once in his misfortune, when the time of his ruin had approached') and the tragedy of whose fall was redeemed only by his tender affection for his noble son Bhoja, his belated remorse for the wrong done to his subjects and his loyal servants in former years, and last but not the least, the heroism which he displayed at the time of his death. Kalhaṇa tells us how Harṣa surrounded by his foes and deserted by most of his troops neglected the wise advice of his few faithful ministers to retire to the family strong-hold of Lohara (VII, 1386 ff.), how he failed to muster up courage to seek his own death (VII, 1407), how at the sight of the awful tragedy of his queens and princesses burning themselves in the royal palace after his own defeat at the city bridge-head he continued muttering to himself an ancient verse ('The fire which has risen from the burning pains of the subjects does not go out until it has consumed the king's race, fortune and life' VII, 1581), how he made his last faithful minister Caṇpaka leave his side in a vain quest for his departed son (VII, 1587), how when deserted even by the *rājaputras* and denied shelter in every house of note in the capital he failed to remember a faithful Ḍāmara who alone had kept faithful 'like a true wife never turning the eyes towards anyone else' (VII, 1630-31), how when he heard the news of the death of his well-beloved son he in his misery fancied that he saw the son 'as a child with his limbs adorned with strings of pearls and resting on his own breast (VII, 1675), how he gently upbraided his faithful attendant who reminded him of the selfish indifference of his subjects in a speech of ineffable tenderness for his lost son (cf. VII, 1687: 'If I myself after hearing that my son, the life of my life, is dead, yet remain here as if all were right, how can anyone else be blamed for showing indifference?'), and how at the last moment, finding himself surrounded by his foes to whom he had been basely betrayed, he sold his life dearly, showing even at the end the magnanimity worthy of a great prince (VII, 1702 and 1705 ff.). At the close of his narrative Kalhaṇa sums up the causes of Harṣa's failure in words which can hardly be regarded as

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complete. For Harsa's failure, according to the author (VII, 1715-16) was due to his aversion to battle alone or else only to his want of independent judgment.

Of the members of Harṣa's family we may first mention the bold and resolute Prince Bhoja, 'foremost of the fighters', who repulsed Sussala's attack on the capital (VII, 1525 ff.) and afterwards met a heroic death in fighting against his treacherous servants (VII, 1654 ff.). Mention may also be made of the heroic Śāhi and other Queens who burnt themselves in 'the four-pillared pavilion of the palace of a hundred gates' when Uccala with his Ḍāmaras burst into the city (VII, 1579). We may, lastly, refer to Harṣa's bold and impetuous brother Prince Vijayamalla who helped his release from prison and accession to the throne by a timely rising and who afterwards, when led into treason by the king's unjust persecution, fought his way with his brave wife through the royal forces only to be killed by an avalanche.

Among the king's ministers we may first speak of the cunning city-prefect Vijayasiṃha who took the decisive step in raising Harṣa to the throne and putting Utkarṣa under arrest. A very attractive figure is Candrarāja who justified his high descent (cf. VII, 1364: 'He, descended from the illustrious Jindurāja and other ancestors who had not desired to die on a couch, displayed noble conduct') by accepting the dangerous post of Commander-in-Chief which none else of the frightened ministers would accept in the king's last desperate fight with the brothers Uccala and Sussala. Winning the first fight and killing the enemy's general, he afterwards found himself deserted by his troops and maintaining the unequal combat for long, was killed in battle (VII, 1499 ff.). With his death, as Kalhaṇa justly observes, vanished Harṣa's last hopes. An equally attractive personality is Ānanda who, raised to the position of Governor by Harṣa, first distinguished himself, in a successful fight with Uccala and afterwards, being deserted by his troops, was captured and put to death. He was, as Kalhaṇa aptly says (VII, 1376), 'the only one to purchase glory at the expense of his body among king Harṣa's servants who were characterised by treachery and timidity. His mother, 'one of those virtuous women who have borne sons worthy of praise for devotion to their lord's service', found relief for grief for her only son in mounting the funeral pyre (VII, 1580). A touching story told by the chronicler (VII, 1381 ff.) illustrates at once the mother's strong affection for her son and proud acquiescence in his devo-

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tion to the State service—both befitting a Roman matron of the early Republican Period—and the king's high appreciation of the son's loyalty. Other attractive figures of the same period are the high minister Caṇpaka, father of Kalhaṇa, who could be persuaded only with great difficulty by the deluded king to leave him (VII, 1587) and the faithful attendant Prayāga who stayed with the king till the end and was killed by his side (VII, 1622 ff.). Among the king's evil ministers was 'the wretch' Loṣṭadhara who put into the king's head the idea of confiscating temple treasures (VII, 1080 ff.), the vile Madana who accepted the post of Chamberlain to the Cālukya Queen in effigy (VII, 1125), and the villainous Sunna, prefect of police, who completed a long career of treachery by bringing Uccala to the capital and deserting the king in his last days (VII, 1597-99). [It will be seen from the above that the history of Kashmir in the tenth and eleventh centuries is by no means wanting in noble and heroic characters as well as commanding talents. It is therefore difficult to agree with the following verdict (Ram Chandra Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London 1933, p. 24) which seems to be more rhetorical than true to fact. 'The state of Kashmir in the tenth and eleventh centuries forms a close parallel with that of Italy under Pope Alexander VI and Caesar Borgias. But the Italian Popes and their satellites often differed from the Kashmir kings in that their evil lives were at any rate relieved by the display of commanding talents'. Further it appears to us that the detailed analysis of Harṣa's character given above does not justify the title of 'the Nero of Kashmir history' given to him by Stein I, Introduction p. 32].

From Kalhaṇa's account of the reign of the next king Uccala, he appears before us as a shrewd, wise and energetic Prince devoted to the welfare of his subjects. Faced at the beginning of his reign with formidable difficulties which Kalhaṇa vividly describes (cf. VIII, 7: 'Robbers as ministers and feudatories, a brother ready to become a pretender, a land without treasure; what difficulties did not beset the king!'), he met them with ability and success. He conciliated his headstrong brother Sussala by crowning him as the king of the family possession of Lohara, while he brought the unruly Ḍāmaras under control by a mixture of force and diplomacy. Kalhaṇa quotes him (VIII, 45-47) as taking for his motto two lessons, namely, accessibility to his people from morning to evening in his palace and constant preparedness for suppressing revolts. It was no doubt

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in accordance with the second principle that he showed wonderful energy in repulsing the invasion of Sussala and getting rid of a number of pretenders. When the most formidable of his rivals Bhikṣācara, son of Bhoja and grandson of Harṣa, fled from his court to the protection of the distant king of Malava, Uccala prudently concluded treaties with Princes on the route to prevent the pretender's entry into Kashmir (VIII, 231). Uccala's beneficent measures for the welfare of his subjects, carried out no doubt in accordance with his first principle, are stated by the chronicler (VIII, 64) to follow from his one great virtue, viz. indifference to wealth. A list of restorations of old temples and images as well as the renovation of the royal throne of Jayāpīḍa (VIII, 77 ff.) attested to the piety and nobility of the king's character. In this connection Kalhaṇa quotes a celebrated judgment of the king in a difficult law-suit to illustrate his uncanny wisdom which he 'must have obtained from the body of Śeṣanāga' (VIII, 122). In an earlier passage (VIII, 85 ff.) Kalhaṇa describes with great relish the king's 'another merit which stood foremost among all his virtues', namely, his humiliation of the hated class of Kāyasthas, those 'plagues of the people.' While allowing so much praise to the king, Kalhaṇa mentions (VIII, 163 ff.) to his discredit, his jealousy of greatness, his rashness of speech, his love of sanguinary combats among his followers and lastly, his arrogant and fickle temper. In describing the king's last days the chronicler dwells on his fatal delusion (cf. VIII, 297: 'The king as if he were anxious to gain Yama's land did not exile those who had been insulted, who were full of aspirations, who had formed a league and lost their subsistence') in trusting himself in the company of some base conspirators who surprised him in his palace and killed him after a resistance worthy of his character.

Of other characters of the reign we may first mention Queen Jayamatī of unknown origin and very questionable antecedents (VII, 1460-62), who secured through the king's favour 'the rare privilege of occupying one-half of his throne'. As queen she distinguished herself by 'kindness, charm of manners, liberality, regard for virtuous people and wisdom and helpfulness for the needy and the distressed' (VIII, 83). She made noble use of her riches by founding a *Vihāra* with a *Maṭha* which she called after the king's name. Superseded in her husband's favour by a younger rival, she yet burnt herself on a funeral pyre after the king's tragic death (VIII, 363).

Kalhaṇa draws a lively picture (VIII, 256 ff.) of the gang of conspirators who took part in Uccala's murder. They consisted of the brothers Chuḍḍa,

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Raḍḍa and so forth descended from a common soldier, but filled with the ambition of seizing the throne and stung to fury by the king's insulting words and dismissal of themselves from their offices, the villainous Kāyastha Saḍḍa who put the idea of treason into the heads of the brothers and was driven to desperation by being discharged from office for misconduct, the noble Bhogasena the king's 'best friend', who being insulted by the king and taken into confidence by the conspirators attempted, though in vain, to convey him a friendly warning and remained a passive spectator at the time of the murder. Kalhaṇa takes special delight in narrating how the usurper Raḍḍa with his accomplices met a well-deserved death at the hands of the avenging Ḍāmara Gargacandra (VIII, 342 ff.).

Salhaṇa the half-brother and successor of Uccala, who was next raised to the throne by 'the king-maker' the powerful Ḍāmara Gargacandra is described by Kalhaṇa as a thoroughly worthless king (cf. VIII, 417: 'Neither political wisdom nor valour, neither cunning nor straightforwardness, neither liberality nor greed—nothing was prominent in this king's character'). He showed his utter want of judgment in entrusting the important office of Lord of the Gate to a relative 'fitted for assemblies of ascetics', who 'declared that he would ward off the dangers from Sussala by muttering his own magic spell a hundred thousand times at his approach' (VIII, 422-423). The king being a 'mere shadow', the court was dependent on Garga for life and death. Salhaṇa's short inglorious reign, which resembled 'a long evil dream', was closed by deposition at the hands of his half-brother Sussala. (VIII, 449).

Kalhaṇa introduces his account of the next reign by drawing (VIII, 482 ff.) a striking comparison and contrast between the character of the two brothers Uccala and Sussala. Sussala's character, he says, was the same as that of his elder brother with some features more, and some less, strongly marked in himself. The contrast, which extends to minute shades of differences (cf. VIII, 488: "Though their wrath was alike in appearance, yet that of his elder brother resembled the poison of a mad dog and his own that of a bee") is summed up by the author in the statement (VIII, 499) that Sussala 'surpassed his elder brother in all qualities excepting only liberality, disregard of wealth and easy accessibility'. Kalhaṇa's detailed account of the reign which falls into two equal periods divided by the short interval of Bhikṣācara's usurpation, bears out his somewhat partial verdict only in part. In the beginning of his reign Sussala is described as

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pacifying the country by a mixture of force and guile, which Kalhaṇa seems to condone, applied against Gargacandra and other powerful subjects. In a short time, however, he employed wicked Kāyasthas to acquire 'sordid gains' which went to swell his hoard of treasure at the Lohara castle (VIII, 560 ff.). The king proceeded to invite fresh troubles for himself by recklessly provoking the hostilities of Ḍāmaras and officers (cf. VIII, 650: 'The action of the king in recklessly rousing these hostilities brought ruin to his subjects and was like the letting loose of a ferocious Vetāla'), while his ingratitude drove even his brave and faithful Commander-in-Chief into disaffection (VIII, 654 ff.). Defeated by the rebellious Ḍāmaras, the king foolishly perpetrated fresh cruelties which are justly censured by the chronicler (cf. VIII, 681). When at length the Ḍāmaras rose in revolt under the pretender Bhikṣācara and defeated the royal forces, Sussala prudently sent his family to the Lohara castle, a step which, as Kalhaṇa notes (VIII, 721), made possible the revival of his fortunes. At the beginning of the rebels' siege of the capital, the king showed such wonderful heroism as to rouse the admiration of the chronicler (cf. VIII, 755:—'Though the king had before invaded the territories of various chiefs, yet the highest reward of his arm's might was the protection of the city'). But the machinations of some 'villainous Brahmans' and Purohitas of sacred places together with the desertion and mutiny of his troops and the indifference of his subjects at length deprived him of all his resolution (cf. VIII, 806) and he sought safety in flight to Lohara.

In 'the wonderful battle' near Parṇotsa on the Kashmir frontier, which was the talk of eye-witnesses in Kalhaṇa's time, Sussala with his few troops gained a glorious victory over the combined Kashmirian, Khaśa and Turuṣka forces of the pretender and thus 'washed off his burning disgrace for the first time' (VIII, 917). After his restoration Sussala in his distrust of his countrymen gave his chief confidence to foreigners, thus driving, according to the chronicler, numbers of his adherents into the enemy's camp. That this censure is a little unmerited is proved by the king's reinstating a brave officer called Yaśorāja (VIII, 1117) whom he had unjustly driven into exile, only to experience his treacherous desertion to the enemys' side. In the following years the king, helped almost alone by his faithful foreigners, displayed such heroism in repulsing his numerous enemies as to extort high praise of the author (cf. VIII, 1199-1200). On one of the critical occasions the king was so much afflicted with sorrow (cf. VIII, 1187)

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for the many calamities of his people including a great fire and famine at Śrīnagar that he brought out his son from Lohara and crowned him king, a step which he quickly retracted. A touching anecdote told by the chronicler during this crisis (VIII, 1188 ff.) illustrates at once the king's sublime patriotism and a foreign officer's supreme devotion to his master. Accosted by Kamaliya, son of Lavarāja a chief in the Ṭakka land (Central Punjab), the king told him that he would 'do to-day what king Bhijja, that proud grandfather of yours, did for his country's sake in the battle with Hammīra' (the last term probably stands for one of Sultan Mahmud's successors). Concluding his short and spirited address with words of burning patriotism, the king declared, 'Is there any person holding a place among self-respecting men who would abandon his country at the end without having wetted it with the blood of his body just as the tiger does not leave his skin without having wetted it with his blood?' When the king turned towards the fight, the noble Kamaliya stopped him by saying, 'while there are servants, it is not fit for kings to proceed in front'. In the last crisis of his life Sussala committed the fatal mistake which the chronicler finds inexplicable in a man of such extraordinary vigilance (VIII, 1276-78) of giving his full confidence to a low-born traitor who ended by killing him in the palace when he was completely off his guard. The king's body, shamefully abandoned by his troops and his relatives, was mutilated and carried off by the traitors.

We have a pleasing picture of Sussala's 'beloved consort' Meghamañjarī daughter of king Vijayapāla and daughter's daughter of the Lord of Kālińjara who had brought her up with tender care in place of a son (VIII, 204-205). 'In her were combined love with tenderness, cheerful speech with dignity and cleverness with experience' (VIII, 1219). She had started to join her husband when he was plunged in a series of misfortunes, but she died on the way worn out by the disastrous news from the king. Four faithful female attendants and a humble cook of her household followed the well-beloved queen to death.

Kalhaṇa introduces his general character-sketch (VIII, 1549 ff.) of the contemporary king Jayasiṃha by justly remarking that the traits of complex characters can only be understood by references to the preceding and following facts and also to the detailed narrative of events. He also notices the opportunity which the study of a contemporary reign affords for impartial judgment. In the immediately following lines he seems to point

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out amid some conventional praise that the king's character was a blend of virtues and faults and that it was unfair to forget that the latter were outweighed by the former (cf. VIII, 1554-1555: "How should then the mind of everybody find its way to a right conclusion as regards the nature of his virtues and faults which is so wonderful? Uneven indeed are the features in his character. Not perceiving the excellence of their aggregate result, the people have concluded that there were faults'). Kalhaṇa's lengthy narrative of the reign helps us to fill in the details of the picture sketched so broadly and imperfectly above. At the time of his father's death he found himself destitute of troops, surrounded by half-hearted ministers, with his father's murderers still at large, and with the pretender Bhikṣācara preparing to march on the capital. From this danger he extricated himself by a combination of politic generosity (cf. VIII, 1377-80 mentioning how his unprecedented course of offering general amnesty at once brought him a following), resolute action and cunning diplomacy, so that in four months' time he punished his father's murderers, drove out the pretender and brought the whole kingdom under his rule (cf. VIII, 1544). Yet as Kalhaṇa very properly remarks (VIII, 1545 ff.), the citizens were without means, the land was overrun by numerous Ḍāmaras 'who were like kings', the pretender was firmly established at a short distance, the counsellors and feudatories were seditious and the royal servants were solely bent on perfidy. At this juncture the king, under the influence of evil counsellors which Kalhaṇa strongly condemns (VIII, 1615-16), drove his brave and faithful general Sujji by a series of insults into exile. When, however, Bhikṣācara arrived at a Khaśa frontier fort for a fresh invasion of Kashmir, the king and his minister Lakṣmaka used thier diplomatic weapons with such effect that the pretender was deserted by his Ḍāmara allies and was at last treacherously murdered by the Khaśas. No sooner was the king delivered from his most dangerous adversary than he was faced with a new and formidable rebellion, that of his uncle Loṭhana, who had been kept a prisoner, at the Lohara castle, but was now set free and crowned king by the mutinous garrison. The king's extraordinary fortitude on hearing of this great disaster is justly praised by the chronicler (VIII, 1798-1810). But he displayed a singular want of judgment (cf. VIII, 1838-39) in choosing a wrong season for sending the relief expedition with the result that the royal forces were driven in retreat from Lohara and the minister Lakṣmaka was surprised and captured

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by the rebels. Wisely recalling Sujji from exile and taking advantage of the rebels' internal dissensions, the king was able with Sujji's help to recover Lohara after it had been abandoned by the cowardly pretender Mallārjuna. In a short time the king showed his weakness for evil counsels and his stupidity (cf. VIII, 2032-33) by turning against the faithful Sujji whom he caused to be assassinated by base treachery—an act for which he is severely, though indirectly, condemned (VIII, 2381) by the chronicler. When the pretender Mallārjuna, aided by the powerful Ḍāmara Koṣṭheśvara again rose in revolt, the king by his resolute action was able to capture both of them and throw them into prison. At this point Kalhaṇa describes a series of beneficent measures of the king (including the construction and restoration of temples, the encouragement of scholars and the rebuilding of the capital), in terms of somewhat extravagant praise (cf. VIII, 2376: 'The king whose mind is all-pervading and steadfast has obtained the foremost rank among the virtuous by his pious actions': *Ibid* 2400: 'What had not been accomplished in regard to consecration of shrines etc. and other pious works during the time of the illustrious Lalitāditya, Avantivarman and other great monarchs, that has now been achieved'). Summing up the king's achievements, Kalhaṇa says (VIII, 2446): 'He restored to this land which owing to the baseness of the times was like a decayed forest, wealth, population and habitations' On the other hand, as the chronicler is careful to tell us (VIII, 2480), the want of judgment which the king had shown in driving Sujji into exile was further manifested by his decision, at the advice of a mere boon companion whom he had unwisely raised to the office of prime minister, to send an incompetent commander against the Daradas. The only result of this ill-advised expedition was that the powerful Darada minister fomented a revolt of the pretender Loṭhana which led to a general rising against the king. The pretenders Loṭhana and Vigraharāja having taken refuge at the inaccessible castle of Śiraḥśilā already mentioned, the generals sent against them lost heart and pressed for a peace. But the king's splendid resolution (cf. his spirited instructions VIII, 2543 ff. to his general ending with the brave words, 'Therefore cease to remain mere onlookers and lay siege to the whole castle. Let our life-time pass, as well as theirs, in this enterprise',) in continuing the attack was rewarded with the surrender of the two pretenders by the Ḍāmara leader. The king showed his generosity by his kind, if contemptuous, treatment of the prisoners.

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When the third pretender Bhoja after repeatedly experiencing the defeat of his Ḍāmara and other allies as well as their baseness and treachery made a voluntary surrender, he was treated by the king with the generosity befitting his own rank and high character. The submission of Bhoja was followed by a general pacification of the kingdom, which gives Kalhaṇa an opportunity to mention (VIII, 3316) another list of pious acts of the king. The king's tender regard for his faithful servants is touchingly illustrated by his attending the minister Dhanya on his death-bed (cf. VIII, 3329: 'The grateful king did not leave the sick Dhanya's side when his end approached, but remained even without taking sleep with those who were praying for his well-being'). In the same connection Kalhaṇa mentions (VIII, 3322) how the king appointed Sañjapāla's brave son to his father's office of Commander-in-Chief after his death.

Among the members of Jayasiṃha's family Kalhaṇa mentions with high praise (VIII, 2433 ff., 3382 ff.) Queens Ratnādevī and Raḍḍādevī for their pious foundations. Of the latter he says (VIII, 3388) with evident exaggeration. 'By her numerous sacred foundations and restorations this wise and clever queen has outstepped, O wonder, even the lame Diddā'. The Chief Queen Kalhaṇikā who is praised (VIII, 3063 ff.) for her magnanimity and other good qualities distinguished herself by mediating between Prince Bhoja and the king at the time of the formers' surrender.

Among the pretenders for the throne who lived during this period the first place belongs to Bhikṣācara, grandson of king Harṣa. His repeated efforts to gain the throne kept the kingdom in a state of turmoil during the reign of Sussala and the early part of Jayasiṃha's reign. When he temporarily obtained the throne after Sussala's flight from the capital, he proved himself utterly unfit for his high position. A tool in the hands of the powerful Ḍāmaras and ministers, he neglected state affairs and devoted himself to low pleasures 'fit only for a market-slave' (VIII, 870). Driven from his throne by a popular reaction in Sussala's favour, Bhikṣācara showed such unexpected vigour in his subsequent fights with the new king as to earn the chronicler's enthusiastic praise (cf. VIII, 1014: 'In the two armies which counted many strong men, there was not one who could face Bhikṣu when he roamed about in battle; *Ibid.*, 1017: 'There was no other hero anywhere like Bhikṣācara who could protect the troops in critical positions, bear up with fatigues, never feel tired and never boast'). So strongly is Kalhaṇa impressed with this sudden improvement in the pre-

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tender's character that he explains the want of opportunity for learning state-craft as the cause of Bhikṣācara's failure as king (cf. VIII, 1030: 'He, however, had seen nothing of his father and grandfather. Thus it came about that when he before had obtained the throne, he was misguided'). After Sussala's assassination the pretender showed his implacable hatred by sending the murdered king's head to Rājapurī, for which reason he is justly censured by the chronicler (VIII, 1463). How nobly Bhikṣācara redeemed the misfortunes due to adverse destiny by his last heroic fight against his treacherous assailants will be told in another place.

Of the other pretenders to the throne Loṭhana who obtained the stronghold of Lohara by an unexpected turn of good fortune, failed to show much worth. Mallārjuna who supplanted Loṭhana is described by the chronicler (VIII, 1979) as possessing not a single good quality. While in possession of Lohara he wasted the accumulated treasures on low favourites. Afterwards he showed his meanness of spirit by agreeing to pay tribute to the king and then by abandoning Lohara without a fight. Captured at length by the royal forces, he made himself thoroughly contemptible by his cowardice. We are told for instance how before surrendering to the Lord of the Gate he made the latter give him to every body's disgust a solemn assurance for his personal safety, how on his way to the capital he behaved 'just like an animal' without any reflection of any kind occupying his mind and how at last he abjectly presented himself to the king and betrayed his former friends (VIII, 2296, 2299, 2311). In sharp contrast with Mallārjuna's character is that of the pretender Bhoja, son of king Salhaṇa, who is described as a brave, wise and high-minded prince. After his voluntary surrender to the king, Bhoja repaid his benefactor's generosity with such devoted service as to win the latter's complete confidence (VIII, 3254 ff.).

Among the ministers of Jayasiṃha Lakṣmaka occupies the first place for shrewd and successful diplomacy. Holding the office of Chamberlain under Bhikṣācara, he narrowly escaped imprisonment to join Sussala (VIII, 911). After Sussala's tragic death he immediately joined Jayasiṃha who made him his chief counsellor because of his skill in winning over the people (VIII, 1382). He occupied the dominant position in the king's Council Chamber because of his address in sowing dissensions among the Ḍāmaras (VIII, 1483-85). While selfishly driving his rival Sujji into exile by poisoning the king's ears against him, Lakṣmaka by his clever diplomacy prevented

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Sujji's projected alliance with Somapāla the chief of Rājapurī (VIII, 1647). Lakṣmaka's last service was to win back for his master the brave Sujji from exile (VIII, 1982 ff.).

Of the other ministers the Ḍāmaras Pañcacandra and Saṣṭhacandra (sons of the king-maker Gargacandra), Rilhaṇa, Dhanya, the two Udayas and Sañjapāla are mentioned again and again for acts of conspicuous courage in the king's service. The two Ḍāmaras fully justified the traditional loyalty of their family to the royal house (cf. VIII, 2780: 'Not one has been born in Sūryavarmacandra's lineage who has not done good service to those born of Malla's race'). Of Rilhaṇa we are told that finding himself deserted by his troops in a fight with a rebel Ḍāmara leader, he scorned to join in the general flight but boldly flung himself almost alone upon the enemy whom he forced to retire to the forest. The magnificent speech put into the mouth of the general on this occasion does honour to his loyalty and courage (cf. VIII, 2819: "Shame on the life of him who though a servant fails in his tasks'; *Ibid.*, 2823: "Those who give up their lives in battle feel dejection only in the beginning, but subsequently enjoy the highest satisfaction of obtaining that happiness which is called absolute bliss"). Another attractive aspect of the minister's character is presented in the chronicler's enthusiastic description of his pious gifts (VIII, 3364 ff.). Dhanya who had been a faithful adherent of Sussala joined Jayasiṃha at the beginning of his reign and was gradually raised to the high position of Chief Justice. Driven into exile by Sujji's influence, he was recalled by his master after that unfortunate general's death. He continued to serve the king in successive fights with pretenders and rebels till his death. Praising his exceptional worth Kalhaṇa says (VIII, 3326) that he had 'singly borne the weight of the king's affairs during the troubles from Bhikṣu's death to Bhoja's defeat'. Sañjapāla who had taken a leading part in besieging Salhaṇa at the capital and placing Sussala on the throne showed conspicuous courage in fighting the rebel king-maker Gargacandra (VIII, 511). Even after his ungrateful master had sent him into exile Sañjapāla showed his 'high honesty' in going abroad instead of joining the rebels (VIII, 558). Recalled by Jayasiṃha Sañjapāla showed his loyalty as well as his high sense of honour by betraying Sujji's intentions to the king while refusing to kill the latter by treachery (VIII, 2086 ff.). In the course of these operations he is said to have addressed the king with the noble words "I do not pay attention to family relations if affairs of State are in their

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way. My attachment is to my Lord, in whose service I count my life as grass". After Sujji's murder Sañjapāla bravely fought against his partisans, losing his right arm in the battle (VIII, 2164-2166). Raised to the rank of Commander-in-Chief by his grateful master, he rendered him excellent service by capturing the Ḍāmara rebel Koṣṭheśvara and by rescuing the general Rilhaṇa from a dangerous position (VIII, 2270; 2839). Rashly attacking another Ḍāmara rebel Trillaka inspite of the desertion of his troops, he displayed conspicuous courage along with his two sons but was completely routed (VIII, 3280). In remembrance of his high services, the king appointed his brave son to his office after his death (VIII, 3322).

(*To be continued*)

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The Philology of the Pali Language

1. An attempt has been made in this paper to discuss in brief the philology of Pali with special reference to Sanskrit and Prakrit.

The vocabulary of Pali is the same as in Sanskrit[1]. First of all the phonetic peculiarities that distinguish Pali from Sanskrit are briefly indicated as follows:[2]

2. There are some letters of the Sanskrit alphabet that are not found in Pali. Among the vowels *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ḷi*, *ai* and *au* are missing in Pali.

3. *Ṛ*, *ṝ* change into *a*, *i*, *u*: *gṛhapati*=*gahapati*, *amṛta*=*amata*; *mṛga*=*miga* (rarely *maya*), *ṛṣi*=*isi*, *kṛtya*=*kicca* (but *kucca* in *kukkucca*), *ṛtu*=*utu*, *nirvṛta*=*nibbuta* (through *nivvuta*); *Vaiçālī*=*Vesālī*, *Vaiçya*=*Vessa*, *taila*=*tela*; *Gautama*=*Gotama*, *auṣadha*=*osadha*.

4. The above changes are regular, but some variations are met with: *gṛhapati*=*gahapati* but *gṛhī*=*gihī*, (*geha*, however, should not be derived from *gṛha*), *sakṛd*=*sakad* (*sakadāgāmī*) or *sakid* (*sakideva*); the bases *mātṛ*=*mātu*, *pitṛ*=*pitu* but the *ṛ* becomes *i* in *mātito*, *mātika*, *pitito*. . In a compound, variation is also met with: *ṇa*=*iṇa* but *an*+*ṇa*=*anaṇa*; *ṛṣabha*=*usabha* but *ratha*+*ṛshabha*=*ratheshbha*. *Vṛ* in a word is changed into *ru*: *vṛksha*=*rukkha*, *pāvṛta*

1 There is sometimes difference in meaning of the same word in Pali and Skt: *prajāvatī* is in Skt. 'brother's wife,' the corresponding Pali '*pajāpatī*' is 'one's own wife': √kāṅkṣ means 'to desire,' but Pali √*kaṅkh* is 'to doubt' (although *ā*√*kaṅkh* =to desire); *pariṣkāra* is 'adornment', 'cleansing' but *parikkhāra* means 'the requisites of a monk'; similarly *paccaya* meaning much the same as *parikkhāra* is not used in that sense in Skt. *pratyaya*. A word at times is more used in one sense in Skt. and in another sense in Pali: *pratipad* generally means 'the first day of the lunar fortnight' but the corresponding *paṭipadā* in Pali means 'path'; *pradhāna* means 'chief', *padhāna* also means 'exertion'; *sūtra* never means a 'discourse' in Skt., but *sutta* generally is a 'discourse' in Pali (and sometimes a 'short rule' as in Skt.); *piṇḍa* is a 'lump of food' in Skt. but it is mostly used in Pali in the sense of alms given to a monk (*piṇḍapāta*); *anubhava* is perception 'but Pali *ānubhava* means 'power'; *'bāla'* generally means a 'boy' in Skt. and it means a 'fool' in Pali, although a 'boy' may be a fool' and a 'fool' may be a 'boy'! (See Childer's Dictionary—Introduction).

2 E. Müller in the introduction to his *Pali Grammar*, Pandit Vidhusekhara Sastri in the introduction to his *Pāli Prakāśa* (in Bengali) and W. Geiger in the Introduction to his *Pali Literature und Sprache* have dealt with the phonetic changes from Sanskrit into Pali. Müller's attempt was the first of its kind, and was made years ago, and so one can, if so inclined, find fault with him here and there. I have added much new material.

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=pāruta, apāvṛta=apāruta. *Ṛ* rarely becomes *ra*: *bṛhat=brahā*; but *Bṛhatphala=Behapphala.*

5. Roots with *ṛ*: *ā+√hṛ+ta=āhṛta*, Pali *āhata*; *√smṛ+ta*, *√smṛ+ti=smṛta, smṛti*, Pali *sata, sati*; *pra+√vṛt+ta−pravṛtta*=Pali *pavatta*; *√kṛ+ta=kṛta*, Pali *kata*; *√mṛ+ta=mṛta*, Pali *mata*; *saṁ+√vṛ+ta=samvṛta*, Pali *saṃvuta*; *√bhṛ+tya=bhṛtya*, Pali *bhacca*− in these the vowel *ṛ* does not undergo guṇa change. Although in Pali the vowels *ṛ* and *ḷi* are found missing the following words can only be explained by the *guṇ*: of *ṛ* or *ḷi* *a ā+√hṛ+a=āhara(ti)*, *√smṛ+a=smara(ti)*, Pali sarati *pra—√vṛt+a=pravarta(te)*, Pali *pavatta(ti)*.; *√kṛ+man=karman*, Pali *kamma*, *√mṛ+ana=maraṇa, saṁ+√vṛ+a=saṁvara, √bhṛ+tṛ=bhartṛ*.—Pali *bhattu*, nominative sing. *bhattā, √jṝ+a=jarā*, *√klip, kalp+a*=Pali *kappa(ti)*; (*√ṛ+ta*, however, makes *aṭṭa* by *vṛddhi* strengthening; *ṛju=uju, mṛdu=mudu* but *ajjava* and *maddava*−abstract nouns are derived from the *vṛddhi* strengthened forms of *ṛ*); *spṛś+a+ti=spṛśati*, Pali *phusati* but *√spṛś+a=sparśa*=Pali *phassa*, *√kṛṣ+a=kṛṣati*, Pali *kasati* but *√kṛṣ+ya=karshyate*, Pali *kassate*; (see 76). It may be seen, therefore, that it is not always possible to say that the *ṛ* of the root shall be changed into *a*, *i* or *u*.

6. A vowel in Pali may be changed into another vowel, and no general rules can be laid down for such a change:

A=ā: *pravacana=pāvacana*; (is *ā* due to the loss of *r*?); *vaṇij=vāṇija, anubhava=ānubhava, adhvan=addhāna* (*ā* may be due to the other form *addhā*), *paccāmitta* is equated with *pratyamitra* but the original form is *pratyag+mitra*—the lengthening is due to loss of *g*.

A=i: *madhyama=majjhima, tamisra=timissā, candramas=candimā, mṛdaṅga=mutinga, ā+√śaṁs=āsiṁs, nyagrodha=nigrodha, sarisṛpa=siriṁsapa.*

A=u: *kadācana=kudācana* (but the vowel in *kadā* is not changed), *svapna=supina, sadyas=sajju, kṛtyaḥ=khattuṁ, tvarita=turita, brahmanaḥ=brahmuno, addhan=addhuno* (genitive sing.), *asūyā=usuyyā, śmaśāna=susāna, nimajjati=nimujjati, sammati=sammuti, navati=navuti, bhāsasva=bhāsassu*.

A=ū: *vijña=viññū, pāraga=pāragū* (also *pāraga*), *sarvajña=sabbaññū, vedaka=vedagū, bhrūṇahan=bhūnahū*, (also bhūnaha).[3]

A=e: *śayyā=seyyā, atra=ettha* (also *atra*), *śvas=sve, puraskāra= purekkhāra, phalgu=pheggu.*

A=o: *śvabhra=sobbha.*

Ā=a: *sthāpayati=ṭhapeti.*

3 A=ū only in kvī suffix.

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Ā = i : śālmalī = simbalī.

Ā = ī : styāna = thīna.

Ā = e : jyāyas = jeyya.

I = a : Kauṇḍiṇya = Koṇḍañña, pṛthivī = paṭhavī, (also *pathavī, puthavī, puthuvī*), *karhi = karaha* (*-ci*).

I = u : śiśu = susu, iṣu = usu, ikṣu = ucchu, dvitīya = dutiya, dvi = du(vidha), Aniruddha = Anuruddha through confusion with the prefix *anu-*.

I = e : mahishī = mahesī (to distinguish the queen-consort from the she-buffalo), *saṁ + √i + tya = samecca* (by strengthening *√i*).

I = o : Ikṣvāku = Okkāka.

I = a : kausīdya = kosajja.

I = i : dvitīya = dutiya, -anīya = aniya, (also *anīya : khādaniya* or *khādanīya*).

I = e : samīkṣate = samekkhati.

U = a : guru = garu, Ikshvāku = Okkāka.

U = i : Sumeru = Sineru, purusha = purisa, jugupsā = jigacchā.

U = o : pustaka = potthaka, anupama = anopama, śuṇḍā = soṇḍā, uṣṭra = oṭṭha, puṣkara = pokkhara, gulpha = goppha, vāyu = vāyo (to equate with *āpo* and *tejo*).

Ū = i : bhūyas = bhiyyo, (also *bhuyya* in compound *yebhuyyena*).

Ū = u : yavāgū = yāgu.

E = o : dvesha = dosa, (to avoid *deśa*, country).

O = u : jyotsnā = juṇhā.[4]

7. Among the consonants, *ś* and *ṣ* are not found in Pali. They are always replaced by the dental sibilant: *Vaiśāli = Vesālī, Kāśī = Kāsī, aushadha = osadha, √śuṣ = √sus.*

The letter *ḥ* also is not met with in Pali; (see 86). *Aḥ* becomes *o*: *putraḥ = putto, manaḥ = mano, śreyaḥ = seyyo* (neu.), *prātaḥ = pāto, anekaśaḥ = anekaso, ātmanaḥ = attano, tataḥ = tato, antaḥ = anto, puraḥ = puro* (*-hita*) but (*puraḥ = pura* in *purato*), *saḥ = so* and *sa*. *Āḥ* drops the *ḥ*, as in *putrāḥ = puttā* and *pacāmaḥ = pacāma*. *Ḥ* preceded by any other vowel is dropped: *kapibhiḥ = kapibhi, āviḥ*

4 Melody of sound determines the changes of letters, but no general rules can be deduced. It seems, for instances, that when the original loses a consonant, the loss is made good by changing *a* into *ā* or into *ū*: *pratyag + mitra = paccāmitta, samyak = sammā, bhūṇahan = bhūṇahū; ṛ* changes into the other vowel of the word: *ṛṣi = isi, ṛtu = utu;* and that a vowel before a double consonant is liable to be changed, e.g., *puṣkara = pokkhara, pustaka = potthaka, purakāra = purekkhāra, śayyā = seyyā, atra = ettha, phalgu = phaggu, samikṣate = Samekkhati.* There are, of course, many exceptions to these suggestions. Here only Skt. and Pali equations have been given without any attempt being made to go deeper.

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=avi, bhoḥ=bho; paceyuḥ=paceyyu(ṃ). Medial *ḥ* is assimilated: *duḥkha=dukkha.*

There are two sounds in Pali, the consonants *ḷ* and *ḷh* which are not found in classical Sanskrit. (See 8: *ḍ, ḍh*).

8. Consonantal changes too are frequent, and their range is wider than that in vowel changes:—

K=g: Śākala=Sāgala, mūka=mūga, vedaka=vedagū, kula+upaka=kulūpaga, also *kulūpaka*).

K=p: kakudha=pakudha.

K=v: śuka=suva.

G=k: bhṛṅgāra=bhiṅkāra, √sthag=thak (eti).

Gh=g: jighatsā=jigacchā (as well as *jighacchā*).

C=t: cikitsā=tikicchā (but *vicikitsā=vicikicchā*).

J=c: prājana=pācana.

J=d: Prasenajit=Pasenadi, jyotsnā=dosinā, (also *juṇhā*), *jājvalya=daddalla, jighacchā* as well as *digacchā.*

Ṭ=ḍ: nighaṇṭu=nighaṇḍu.

Ṭ=l: sphaṭika=phalika.

Ṭ=ḷ: āṭavika=aḷavika.

Ḍ=ḷ, ḍh=ḷh: Garuḍa=Garuḷa, biḍāla=biḷāra, ṣoḍaśa=soḷasa, guḍa=guḷa, chaḍ=chaḷ (-abhiññā), eḍaka=eḷaka, niḍa=niḷa, (also *niḍḍa*); *dṛḍha=daḷha, gāḍha=gāḷha, muḍha=muḷha.*[5]

Ṇ=n: yakshiṇī=yakkhinī, ghrāṇa=ghāna; (see 92).

Ṇ=ḷ: veṇu=veḷu, mṛṇāla=muḷāla.

T=c: tarhi=carahi.

T=ṭ: vartate=vaṭṭati, (also *vattati*), *prati=paṭi, prathama=paṭhama*; (see 93).

T=d: uta=uda, ruta=ruda, (also *ruta*), *vitasti=vidatthi.*

Th=ṭh: artha=aṭṭha, (also *attha*); (see 93).

Th=dh: √vyath=vedh(ati).

D=ḍ: √dah=√ḍah, (also √dah), *daṁça=ḍaṁsa.*

D=t: prādur=pātu, kusīda=kusīta, mṛdaṅga=mutiṅga, Yamadagni=Yamataggi.

D=b: dvādaça=bārasa, dvāviṁçati=bāvīsati, (only in numerals).

D=y: khādita=khāyita, svādita=sāyita; (see 59).

D=r: -dasa=-rasa: aṣṭādaça=aṭṭhārasa (or *aṭṭhādasa*), *ekārasa* or *ekādasa,* (only in numerals).

D=ḷ (through *ḍ*) *: udāra=uḷāra, dohada=dohaḷa, vaidūrya=veḷuriya, budbuda=bubbuḷa.*

5 *Ḍ, ḍh* only in the middle of a word are changed into *ḷ, ḷh* respectively: *dāha* but *pariḷāha. Ḷ* and *ḷh* are found only in the middle of word (as in Bengali).

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Dh=*ḍh* : *ardha*=*aḍḍha*, *vṛddha*=*vuḍḍha*; (see 93).

Dh=*th* : *apidhīyate*=*pithiyati*.

N=*ṇ* : *śakuna*=*sakuṇa*, *jnāna*=*ñāṇa*, *vijñāna*=*viññāṇa*, *śanaiḥ*=*saṇikaṁ*, *jyotsnā*=*juṇhā*, *snuṣā*=*suṇhā*, *snuṣā*, also *huṣā*; (see 92).

N=*r* : *Nairañjanā*=*Nerañjarā*.

N=*l* : from √*nah* : *pilandhati*.

N=*ḷ* : *enas*=*eḷa*.

P=*k* : *pipīlikā*=*kipillikā* by metathesis.

P=*v* : *pūpa*=*pūva*, *apara*=*avara* in *parovara*.

B=*p* : *alābu*=*alāpu*.

B=*v* : *pibati*=*pivati*, *bandhyā*=*vañjhā*.

M=*n* : *Śumeru*=*Sineru*.

M=*v* : *mīmāṁsā*=*vīmaṁsā*.[6]

Y=*b* : *jarāyu*=*jalābu*, *pūya*=*pubba*.

Y=*bh* : *Sarayū*=*Sarabhū*.

Y=*r* : *snāyu*=*nahāru*.

Y=*l* : *yashṭhi*=*laṭṭhi*, *paryāya*=*peyyāla*.

Y=*v* : *dāya*=*dāva*, *mṛgayā*=*migavā*, *kaṣāya*=*kasāva*, *prayacchati*=*pavecchati*, *kiyat*=*kīva*, *traya*=*tāva* (in *Tāvatiṁsa*), *Dīrghāyuḥ*=*Dīghāvu*, *āyudha*=*āvudha*, (also *āyudha*), *sāhāyya*=*sahavya*(*tā*).

R=*ṇ* : *prabhaṅgura*=*pabhaṅguṇa*.

R=*y*(?) : *gṛdhra*>*gṛdhya*=*gijjha*.

R=*l* : *roma*=*loma*, *sukumāra*=*sukhumāla*, *rudra*=*ludda*, *jarāyu*=*jalābu*, *agaru*=*agalu*, *antarīksha*=*antalikkha*, *Maskarī*=*Makkhali*, *viparyāsa*=*vipallāsa*, *ārdra*=*alla*, *paryaṅka*=*pallaṅka*, *pari*=*pali* (*palibodha*, *paliguṇṭhita*, *paligha*), *māruta*=*māluta*.

R=*ṁ* : *vidarçayati*=*vidaṁseti*, *lomaharsha*=*lomahaṁsa*; (see 32).

L=*r* : *kila*=*kira*, *biḍāla*=*biḷāra*, *ālambana* the same as *ārammaṇa*.

L=*ḷ* -*daḷidda* as well as *dalidda*, *galati*=*gaḷati*, *pāli* as well as *pāḷi*.

V=*p* : *prajāvatī*=*pajāpatī*, *palāva*=*palāpa*, *śāva*=*chāpa*.

V=*b* (initial only) : *Vīja*=*bīja*; *byañjana* also *vyañjana*; *vyādhi*, *byādhi*.

Ś=*ch* : *Śāva*=*chāpa*.

Ś=*ḍ* : *śāka*=*ḍāka*.

Ṣ=*ch* : *ṣaḍ*=*cha*.

H=*dh* : *iha*=*idha*, (also *iha*).[7]

* * * * * *

6 Ātmaja=attaja.

7 Changes illustrated by very few examples do not betray the general tendency of the language.

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9. Pali words (i) begin with a single consonant, (ii) do not end in a consonant, (iii) and a conjunct consonant of more than two letters is not allowed in the middle of a word.

10. (i) A single consonant in the beginning of a word: *prāṇa=pāṇa, tri=ti, krodha=kodha, dvīpa=dīpa, dvitīya=dutiya, dvigu=digu, smṛti=sati, śmaśāna=susāna.* It must not be understood that the first consonant is always retained. The rules of assimilation have to be applied before one of the consonants is dropped. (See under Assimilation). According to these rules *nyāya* becomes *ññāya** and then *ñāya, kṣetra>kkhetra*=khetta, jñāna>ññāna*=ñāṇa, dhyāna>jjhāna*=jhāna, smarati>ssarati*=sarati,* (also *sumarati*), *spandana>pphandana*=phandana, √spṛç>pphus*=√phus, stūpa >tthūpa*=thūpa.*[8]

The exceptions to the above rule of a single consonant in the beginning are: *brahmā* and *brāhmaṇa* and also words with initial *tv, vy, (by),* and *sv: tvaṁ, vyādhi (byādhi), vyaggha, vyākata, vyañjana (byañjana), sve, svātana*[9] and some words with initial *dv: dve, dvāra, dvanda.* Even here forms like *tuvaṁ* instead of *tvaṁ, duve* instead of *dve, viyākasi* instead of *vyākasi, veyyākaraṇa* instead of *vyākaraṇa* are found, indicating the tendency in Pali of preferring a single consonant in the beginning.

11. (ii) The final consonant is dropped and the preceding vowel, if short, is sometimes lengthened: *nāman=nāma, karman=kamma, punar=puna, saras=sara, triṁśat=tiṁsa, nūnam=nūna, yāvat=yāva,* (also *yāvatā*), *cid=ci, ṣhaḍ=sa, marut=maru, cakṣus(ḥ)=cakkhu, vidyut=vijju, bhos(ḥ)=bho; bhagavān=bhagavā, putrāt=puttā, paścāt=pacchā, tasmin>tasmi*=tamhi;* (cp. *tidivasmi modati*). *Arhan=arahā* (also *arahaṁ*); *samyak=sammā, adhvan=addhā* (also *addhāna*), *apsaras=accharā, parishad=parisā, dhik=dhī, kvip=kvī.*

12. If the final consonant is not dropped it is either changed into a niggahīta or a vowel is added at the end: *etad=etaṁ, arhan=arahaṁ,* (also *arahā*), *pacan=pacaṁ, bhavan=bhavaṁ, aham=ahaṁ, sam- =saṁ, teṣām=tesaṁ, tasmin=tasmiṁ, punar =(punap)punaṁ,* (also *puna*); *Sanatkumāra=Sanaṁkumāra.*

Tvac=taca, adhvan=addhāna; (cp. *dīghaṁ addhānaṁ*), also *addhā, medhas=medhasa, dviṣ=disa, bhiṣak=bhisakka, vaṇij=vāṇija, udañc=udicca, kṛt=kita, yāvat=yavatā,* (also *yāva*), *prāṇabhṛt=pāṇabhūta,* (mixed up with *pāṇa+bhūta*), *sarad=sarada.*

8 Between an aspirate and an unaspirate the unaspirate is retained.

9 Svâgata, khvâssa have a double consonant in the beginning on account of sandhi.

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The following words being feminine, the feminine suffix *ā* is added: *diś=disā, vāc=vācā, pratipad=paṭipadā, āpad=āpadā, gir=girā, upānah=upāhanā.*

13. Consonantal bases are avoided in Pali as far as possible but they survive although there is a tendency of changing them into vowel bases: *kārin* becomes *kārī*, and the accusative singular is *kāriṁ*, but there is an additional form *kārinaṁ* from *kārin* as in Sanskrit. The instrumental singular, genitive singular and plural and locative singular of consonantal bases are formed by adding *ā, o, aṁ* and *i* respectively to the base. But here forms of the corresponding vowel declension are found along with those of the consonantal base: *mahat* in the instrumental *mahatā*, genitive singular *mahato*, locative singular *mahati* besides *mahantena, mahantassa* and *mahantasmiṁ* respectively as from a vowel base (*mahanta*); the present participle *pacat* forms the genitive singular and plural *pacato* and *pacataṁ* respectively as also *pacantassa* and *pacantānaṁ* (from √*pac+a+nta*); *manas* forms the locative singular *manasi* and according to the vowel base *manasmiṁ*. (See 41 & 42).

14. Words ending in a consonant followed by words beginning with a consonant are to be met with in compounds: *vākkaraṇa*(*vāc*), *khuppipāsā* (*khud*), *mahaddhana* (*mahat*), *saddhamma* (*sat*), *sakkāra* (*sat*), *tappurisa* (*tat*), *takkara*(*tat*), *tad-ahu, tad-uṭṭhāya, saddhā* (*sat*).

Words with a preposition ending in a consonant followed by words beginning with a consonant are also met with: *uppajjati* (*ud*) *nissaraṇa* (*nir*), *duggandha* (*dur*), *catuppada* (*catur*). In all these cases assimilation has taken place[9].

15. A final consonant apparently missing in Pali, followed by a word beginning with a vowel is revived by the so-called rule of consonantal insertion: *kenaci+eva=kenacideva* (Skt. *-cid*), *tāva+eva=tāvadeva* (Skt. *tāvat*), *tasmā+iha=tasmātiha* (Skt. *tasmāt*), *sakad-āgāmī, saki-d-eva* (Skt. *sakṛd*), *eta-d-ahosi* (Skt. *etad*), *sabbhi-r-eva* (Skt. *sadbhir*), *patu-r-ahosi* (Skt. *prādur*), *pāta-r-āsa* (Skt. *prātar*), *puna-r-eva* (Skt. *punar*), also *punadeva* and *punameva*; *durāsada* (*dur*), *caturaṅga* (*catur*), *nirāhara* (*nir*), *chaḷabhiññā* (Skt. *ṣaḍ*).

16. The Skt. consonant, however, is not always retained as *dhik* becomes *dhir*—(*dhirattha*), *samyak=sammad*—(*sammadaññā vimutta*), also *samma*; *anvayeva* becomes *anvadeva* in Pali. (See 36).

9 As for the prepositions ending in a consonant, *nir, dur, ud* are generally assimilated: *nir+mala=nimmala*, but *nir+harati=nīharati, nir+varaṇa=nīvaraṇa. Dur+gata=duggata* but *dur+rama dūrama* for which see 85. *Ud+sahati=ussahati but ud+han=ūhan*, and for the change of *sam* into *sam* see 84.

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17. (iii) Whereas in Skt. there are conjunct consonants of even more than three letters, Pali words do not contain, as a rule, conjunct letters of more than two consonants. There are, however, one or two exceptions to this: *indriya, yantra* and '*ntv*' in *hantvā, gantvā*. If there is a triple consonant, one of the consonants, the weakest is dropped and assimilation takes place wherever possible:[10] *indra=inda, mantra=manta, candra=canda, Lakshmaṇa=Lakkhaṇa, ujjvala=ujjala, mahattva=mahatta, sattva =satta, dvandva=dvanda, ūrddhva=uddha,* √*kar+tvā=katvā. çāstra=sattha, vastra=vattha, rāṣṭra=raṭṭha*—(*ṣ+t=ṭṭh*), *matsya =maccha*—(*t+s=cch*), *Ikṣvāku=Okkāka*—(here *k+ṣ=kk*). The weakest consonant is not dropped in the following examples: √*dis+tvā=disvā,* √*chid+tvā=chetvā, ārdra=alla,* (*r=l*). And the same in combination of a sibilant and a nasal: *jyotsnā=juṇhā*—(*s+ n=ṇh*) or *dosinā, kṛtsna=kasina, ślakṣṇa=saṇha, pakshma=pamha* but in the following examples the weakest consonant is indistinguishable on account of assimilation *sūkshma=sukhuma, Vindhya= Viñjha* and *bandhyā=vañjhā; vartman* (√*vṛt*)*=vaṭuma.* (See Assimilation 31 and Epenthesis 36).

18. A double consonant is not allowed after a *niggahīta* or any nasal: *saṅkhyā=saṅkhā, saṃskāra=saṅkhāra, saṃsthāna=saṇṭhāna, saṃsparśa=saṃphassa, saṃkṣipta=saṅkhitta, saṃstaraṇa=santharaṇa*; cp. *daṃṣṭrā=dāṭhā*; (see under Assimilation). A triple consonant is separated by means of epenthesis as in *harmya=hammiya.*

19. Double consonant in the middle of a word must belong to the same group: *maṅgala, gacchi* (also *gañchi*), *lajjā, pañca, yandha, nimba, sammata.*

20. Assimilation sometimes takes place between consonants of the same group[11] *prajñā=paññā, sapatnī=sapattī, ālambana= ārammaṇa.* '*Ñc*' in *pañca* is changed into *ṇṇ* in paṇṇarasa. Combinations like √budh+ta, √pad+na are assimilated; (see 23).

21. If the consonants belong to different groups, or one is a mute and the other not, assimilation then as a rule takes place. The following exceptions may be noted: *Sākya* (to avoid confusion with god *Sakka*), *vākya, ārogya, nigrodha, piṇḍolya, atra, tatra, yatra* (also *ettha, tattha, yattha*), *gotrabhū* (but *gotta*), *vicitra,* (also *vicitta*); with *tvā* of the gerund; *sutvā, pacitvā* (but *catvāraḥ= cattāro*), *bhadra,* (also *bhadda*), *udraya, udriyati* (also *uddaya, uddīyati*), *kalyāṇa, kalya* (also *kalla*), *havya, sahavyatā, vidvā,*

10 The mutes (*k*—*m*) are the strongest among consonants, nasals being sometimes regarded weak; then *s, l, v, y, r,* in decreasing strength.

11 Ordinarily here the nasal is second in the compound letter.

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bhasta, utrasta, odhasta, āyasmā, bhasma; with *sma* in grammatical *asmi, tasmiṃ, puttasmiṃ*. Some combinations due to sandhi are to be found: *anveti* (*anu*+*eti*), *pātvâkasi* (*pātu*+*akāsi*), *yatvâdhikaraṇa* (*yato*+*adhikaraṇa*), *myāyaṁ*(*me*+*ayaṃ*). Besides, the combinations of *h* with another consonant are to be found: *brāhmaṇa, brahman, gaṇhāti, taṇhā* etc.; and also combinations of *yr*: *payrupāsati, kayrā*, (variants *payirupāsati* and *kayirā*). See 47.

22. Assimilation is a conspicuous feature of Pali; (see 79). The combinations of consonants are avoided in Pali by means of either epenthesis or metathesis (which see). Assimilation takes place either in the body of a word or between a root or a word and suffix ending in or beginning with a consonant. It must be noted that final and initial consonants are not always assimilated: e.g. √*pac*+*ta*=*pacita*, √*has*+*ta*=*hasita*, √*gah*+*ta*=*gahīta*, √*kar*+*ta*=*kata*, *nir*+√*var*+*ta*=*nibbuta*. In assimilation one of the consonants is made the same as the other. This is called complete assimilation: √*muc*+*ta*=*mutta*, *putra*=*putta*. When one of the consonants is made similar to the other the assimilation is incomplete: √*sam*+*ta*=*santa*, *hasta*=*hattha*. Sometimes a third consonant reduplicated is used for both: √*labh* +*ta*=*laddha*. When the final consonant is assimilated the assimilation is called regressive, and when the initial consonant is assimilated, it is progressive assimilation: √*muc* +*ta*=*mutta* and √*lag*+*na*=*lagga* respectively.

23. (I) The first general rule of assimilation: When both the consonants, are mute the final consonant is assimilated: √*yuj*+*ta* =*yutta* (Skt. *yukta*), √*muc*+*ta*=*mutta*, *ud*+√*pad*+*na*=*uppanna* (Skt, *utpanna*), *sat*+*dharma*=*saddhamma* (Skt. *saddharmma*), *prajñā*=*paññā* (but *ājñā*>*aññā**=*āṇā*—(to avoid *aññā* which means super-knowledge), *sapta*=*satta*, *nimna*=*ninna*. If one of the consonants is an aspirate the other consonant is assimilated: *sat*+*bhi*=*sabbhi* (Skt. *sadbhir*), √*budh*+*ta*, √*sudh*+*ta*, √*bandh*+*ta*=*buddha*, *suddha*, *baddha* respectively as in Skt.[13]

There are some exceptions to this rule: When combinations of *gn, jn* (*gn*),[14] *kn, pn, tm, tn*, occur the nasal is assimilated: *nagna*=*nagga*, *agni*=*aggi*, √*lag*+*na*=*lagga* (Skt. *lagna*), *ud*+√*vij*+*na*=*ubbigga* (Skt. *udvigna*), √*bha*(*ñ*)*j*+*na*=*bhagga* (Skt.

12 I have borrowed the scheme of Assimilation from Woolner's "*Introduction to Prakrit.*"

13 A mute aspirate is doubled by using the same unaspirate before it.

14 J of the root is changed into the corresponding guttural, so that *jn*=*ṅn*. It may be noted in this connection that if the palatal is changed into a guttural, the preceding nasal, if any, is correspondingly changed: √*bhañj*+*a* <√*bhañg**+*a*=*bhaṅga*, √*sañj*+*a*>*saṅga**=*saṅga*.

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bhagna), √*śak*+*no*=*sakko*(*ti*), (Skt. *śaknoti*), *pra*+√*āp*+*no*=*pappo*(*ti*) (Skt. *prāpnoti*), *ātman*=*attan*, (but *vartman*=*vaṭuma*), *sapatnī*=*sapattī*. Some irregular assimilations: *bh*+*t*=*ddh*, √*labh*+*ta*=*laddha* (Skt. *labdha*), √*lubh*+*ta*=*luddha* (Skt. *lubdha*) a hunter, (also spelt *ludda* through confusion with *ludda*=*rudda*, fierce), *ā*+√*rabh*+*ta*=*āraddha*; *j*+*t*=*tth* in the following: √*saj*+*ta*=*saṭṭha* (Skt. √*sṛj*+*ta*=*sṛṣṭa*)—cp. *vissaṭṭha*, *saṁsaṭṭha*, √*maj*+*ta*=*maṭṭha* (Skt. √*mṛj*+*ta*=*mṛṣṭa*), √*yaj*+*ta*=*yiṭṭha* (Skt. *iṣṭa*). Some roots beginning with *v* change the following *a* to *u* before assimilation takes place: √*vac*+*ta*=*vutta* (Skt. *ukta*), √*vac*+*ya*=*vucca* (*ti*), √*vas*+*ta*=*vuttha* (also *vusita*), Skt. *uṣita*; *nir*+√*var*+*ta*=*nibbuta*, but *pa*+√*vat*+*ta*=*pavatta* (Skt- *pravṛtta*).

24. (II) The second general rule of assimilation: When one consonant is a mute and the other a semi-vowel (*y*, *r*, *l*, *v*) or sibilant (*ś*,*ṣ*,*s*) the mute being stronger is retained and the other consonant is assimilated: *ākhyāna*=*akkhāna*, *saṅkhyā*=*saṅkhā*, *cakra*=*cakka*, *pakva*=*pakka*, √*muc*+*ya*=*mucca* (*ti*), *rājya*=*rajja*, *putra*=*putta*, *śatru*=*sattu*, *catvāraḥ*=*cattāro*, *Bhāradvāja*=*Bhāraddāja*, *samanvāgata*=*samannāgata*, √*kar*+*tuṁ*=*kattuṁ*, *punar*+*bhava*=*punabbhava*, *durgati*=*duggati*, *karma*=*kamma*, *dur*+*kṛta*=*dukkaṭa*. Exceptions: with *ud*-: *ud*+*loketi*=*ulloketi*, *ud*+*sahati*=*ussahati*, *ud*+*matta*=*ummatta*. *Mr* becomes *mb*: *āmra*=*amba*, *tāmra*=*tamba*. *Lm* becomes *mb*: *çālmalī*=*simbalī*, *gulma*=*gumba*. *Ht* becomes *ḷh*, *ddh*: √*rūh*+*ta*=*ruḷha*, √*muh*+*ta*=*muḷha*, √*nah*+*ta*=*naddha*, √*duh*+*ta*=*duddha*. *Tr* becomes *tth* in adverbs of space: *tatra*=*tattha* (also *tatra*), *atra*=*ettha* (also *atra*) *sarvatra*=*sabbattha*, *aññatra*=*aññattha*; *ārdra*=*alla* (*r*=*l*), *gṛdhra*=*gijjha*, *catvara*=*caccara*, Pali √*pucch*+*ta*=*puṭṭha*, √*muc*+*ta*=(Pali) *mukka* in *paṭimukka*, (also *mutta*).

There are three main variations to this general rule:

25. (A) A dental meeting *y* is changed into the corresponding palatal before assimilation takes place: *satya*=*sacca*, *pratyāgacchati*=*paccāgacchati*, *kṛtya*=*kicca*, *mıthyā*=*micchā*, *avidyā*=*avijjā*, *Ayodhyā*=*Ayojjhā* (but in a triple consonant *dhy* usually becomes *ñjh* by dropping one of the palatals: *Vindhya*=*Viñjha*, *bandhyā*=*vañjhā*; cp. Skt. *ānantya*=*ānañca*), *kanyā*=*kaññā*, √*man*+*ya*=*maññā* (*ti*), *nyāya*=*ñāya* (but *nyagrodha*=*nigrodha*).

Not only a dental and *y* but in fact any nasal with *y* changes into *ññ*: *puṇya*=*puñña*, *kāruṇya*=*kāruñña*, *saṁ*+*yata*=*saññata*, *taṁ*+*yeva*=*taññeva*.[15]

15 *Taññeva* is taken by grammarians as equivalent to taṃ+eva; but I do not agree to this.

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When, however, *ud*-precedes *y* the assimilation is *yy* instead of *jj*: *ud+yojeti=uyyojeti*, *udyama=uyyama*, *ud+yāti=uyyāti*, *udyāna=uyyāna*.

26. (B) The second variation of the rule is: When a mute meets a sibilant, the sibilant (being weak) is assimilated, but the mute is, at the same time, aspirated (unless already an aspirate).

With guttural: *bhikshu=bhikkhu*, *cakṣu=cakkhu*, *akṣi=akkhi*, *puraskṛta=purakkhata* (also *purekkhata*), *saṁ+kāra=saṁskāra=* Pali *saṅkhāra*; (see 18), *pari+kāra=pariṣkāra=*Pali *parikkhāra*; (see 91). Exceptions: *saṁskṛta=sakkata* (Sanskrit language) in order to avoid *saṅkhata* which has a different sense, *Takṣaśilā=Takkasilā*, *Ikṣvāku=Okkāka*, √*kṣā=jhā(yati)*. *Kṣ* is changed into *cch* in the following words: *kukṣi=kucchi*, *ikṣu=ucchu*, *sa+akṣi>sacchi**—(cp. *sacchikaroti*), *kṣulla*, however becomes *culla* or *cūla*.

27. With palatal: *paścāt=pacchā*, *āścarya=acchariya*, *niścita =nicchita*, *nir=niś+*√*car=nicchar*—(cp. *nicchāreti*) but *niścala= niccala* from *nir-cala*, *duścarita=duccarita* from *dur+carita*; (see 89).

28. With lingual: √*dṛç+ta* (*dṛshṭa*)=*diṭṭha*, √*naś+ta* (*nashṭa*) =*naṭṭha*, *pra+*√*viś+ta* (*pravishṭa*)=*paviṭṭha*; *rāshṭra=raṭṭha*, √*hṛsh+ta* (*hṛshṭa*)=*haṭṭha*; (see 94); *daṁṣṭrā=dāṭhā*.[16]

29. With dental—*t*: *Śrāvastī=Sāvatthī*, *mastaka=matthaka*, *hasta=hattha*, √*as+ti=atthi* but *hyastanī=hiyattanī*. *Ts* becomes *cch*: *vatsa=vaccha* (also *vaṁsa*—the *Vaṁsas* of *Kosambī*), *matsya= maccha*, *cikitsā=tikicchā*, *mat+sara=macchara*, *jighatsā=jigacchā* but *bībhatsa=bībhacca*. Exceptions: *t* of *-ut* is assimilated: *utsanna =ussanna*, *utsuka=ussuka*, *utsava=ussava* but *utsaṅga=ucchaṅga*. *Sth* becomes *ṭṭh* instead of *tth*: *asthi=aṭṭhi*, *sthāna=ṭhāna*.

30. With labial: *pushpa=puppha*, *nishpanna=nipphanna*, √*spṛś=phus*, √*spand* = √*phand*. Exceptions: √*spṛh=*√*pih*, *vanaspati=vanappati*. *Ps* become *cch* in *apsaras=accharā*, *jugupsa =jigucchā*.

31. (C) The third variation of the rule is: When a sibilant meets a nasal, the sibilant is changed into *h*, and the order of the consonants is reversed, (in other words the *h* aspirates the nasal): *tṛshṇā=taṇhā*, *ushṇa=uṇha*, *kṛshṇa=kaṇha*, *tushnīm=tuṇhī*, *as- mākaṁ=amhākaṁ*, *asmi=amhi* (also *asmi*), *tasmin=tamhi* (also *tasmiṁ*), *grīshma=gimha*, √*snā=*√*nhā* √*nahā*, *snāyu>nhāya*>*

16 When *ṭṭh* occurs, it must be understood that the Skt. sibilant is either lingual or palatal (except when *sth* becomes *ṭṭh* as below), and when it is *tth* the Skt. sibilant may be assumed to be dental; (see 94).

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nahāyu = nahāru, śleshman = semha, pakshma = pamha, praśna = pañha,* (*n* palatalized by the influence of the palatal sibilant), *jyotsnā = juṇhā* (also *dosinā*), *snuṣā = suṇhā* (*u shifted*, and no reversal of consonants). Exceptions: *√smṛ = √sar, vi + √smar + a = vissara, anu + smaraṇa = anussaraṇa, jātismara = jātissara, smṛti = sati; smita = sita* (also *mihita*), *śmaśru = massu, śmaśāna = susāna.* Instead of Assimilation, Epenthesis is used in the following: *jyotsnā = dosinā* (also *juṇhā*), *sūkshma = sukhuma.*

32. (III). The third general rule of assimilation: If neither consonant is a mute the weaker is assimilated, *s, l, v, y, r* being their order in decreasing strength: *aśva = assa, aśru = assu, sahasra = sahassa, asya = assa, śalya = salla, palvala = pallala, avyaya > avvayá* = abbaya, √div + ya > divva* = dibba darśana = dassana, parvata > pavvata* = pabbata, sarva > savva* = sabba, pūrva > puvva* = pubba,*[17] *ārya = ayya* (also *ariya*), *nir + yāti = niyyāti* but *viparyāsa = vipallāsa, paryaṅka = pallaṅka*—(*r = l*); *svayam = sayaṁ, svāmin = sāmī.* Exceptions: *lomaharṣa = lomahaṁsa, sampraharṣa = sampahaṁsa, vidarśayati = vidaṁseti, Uruvilvā = Uruvelā.*

Ṁ of *saṁ* followed by *l* is always assimilated: *saṁ + lapati = sallapati, saṁ + lahuka = sallahuka, saṁ + līna = sallīna, itthaṁ + nāma = itthannāma.* (For final *m* (*ṁ*) see 84 and for *ṁ* followed by *y* see 25).

33. *H* with a nasal or a semi-vowel before it—the order is reversed; (see 47), but the following assimilations with *h* are found; *lehya = leyya, gahvara = gabbhara*; *hṛasva* becomes *rassa*; (for *hrada = daha, rahada* see[18]). 47

Assimilation is the most common way of avoiding an inconvenient combination of consonants but there is another method of doing the same, that is Epenthesis.

34. Epenthesis is the insertion of a vowel between two consonants. It is invariably applied in the beginning of a monosyllabic word, for assimilation would change such a word out of recognition: *çrī = sirī, hrī = hirī, jyā = jiyā, √snā > nhā = nahā; svasti = suvatthi, padma = paduma, ratna = ratana, pari + upa √ās + ti = payrupāsati, gṛhapatnī = gahapatānī, vajra = vajira, svapna = supina, kriyā = kiriyā, bhagnī = bhaginī, vartman* (*√vṛt*) *= vaṭuma.*

17 *VV* always becomes *bb.*

18 I have given examples of assimilation from the roots of verbal derivatives and not from the forms they have assumed in Skt.: *√muc + ta = mutta* (Skt. *mukta*), *ud + √pad + na = uppanna* (Skt. *utpanna*). It is easier, however, in some cases to go by the Skt. forms: *√bhañj + na* (Skt. *bhaṅga*) *= bhagga*, *√labh + ta* (Skt. *labdha*) *= laddha*, *√prach* (Pali *√pucch + ta*) = Skt. *pṛṣṭa = puṭṭha*, *√srj*, Pali *√saj + ta* (Skt. *sṛshṭa*) = (vi)*ssaṭṭha.*

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Epenthesis takes place in the following combinations in particular: *a* is inserted between *r & h*: *arham=arahaṁ, garhati=garahati, etarhi=etarahi, antarhita=antarahita*. *I* following a guttural or a palatal—*i is* inserted: *kleśa=kilesa, klānta=kilanta, glāna=gilāna, śloka=siloka, mlā=milā(yati)* but *plavati=palavati*. *I* is also inserted between *r & y*: *āścarya=acchariya, kadarya=kadariya, brahmacarya=brahmacariya, tiryak=tiriya. Ārya=ariya* (also *ayya*), *bhāryā=bhariyā, ācārya=ācariya, sūrya=suriya, vīrya=viriya, vaidūrya=veḷuriya,*[19] *paryāya=pariyāya, paryeṣanā=pariyesanā, paryanta=pariyanta*[20]. But *viparyāsa=vipallāsa, paryaṅka=pallaṅka*—(*r=l*), *paryupāsati=payrupāsati*; (see 47 for *ry=yr*).

Ya, yā at the end of a word preceded by another consonant introduces an *i*: *carya=cariya, jātyā=jātiyā, sāmarthya=sāmatthiya, dharmya=dhammiya, veśyā=vesiyā* (also *vesī*).

Ambila (Skt. *amla*) is an instance of a consonant with a vowel introduced into a word.

35. *M* is inserted in *jigiṁsati* (Skt. *jigīṣati*), *bhiṃsana* (Skt. *bhīshaṇa*) and in a compound word: *sanaṁtana* (*sanātana*), *avaṃsiro* (*ava+siro*), *siriṃsapa* (Skt. *sarisṛpa*), *suṃsumāra* (*susu+māra*, *ṃ* shifted—Skt. *śiśumāra*).

36. Sometimes a consonant is inserted not in the body of a word but between two words for smoothness of pronunciation. This is different from final consonants restored for which see 15, and is known as consonantal insertion: *añña+añña=aññamañña* (Skt. *anyânya*), *añña+atthu=aññadatthu, ajja+agge=ajjatagge, āsanā+uṭṭhāya=āsanāvuṭṭhāya, puna+eva=punadeva, punameva* (also *punareva*); for *pariyanta, pariyesanā, pariyāya* see 34; *su+uju=suhuju* (also *sûju*). An example of Epenthesis in a word containing a triple consonant is *hammiya* (Skt. *harmya*). Epenthesis is used to separate the consonants in *jyotsnā=dosinā, sukshma=sukhuma*; (see 31).

37. A vowel or a consonant is rarely introduced in the beginning of a word: *strī=itthī* (also *thī*), *uṭṭhāna=vuṭṭhāna*.

38. There are some instances of both assimilation and epenthesis in the same word: *√snā=nahā, smita=mihita*.[21]

19 It is necessary first to shorten the long vowel followed by two consonants according to 50 before *i* is inserted.

20 I followed by a dissimilar vowel is changed into *y* so that *pari*-becomes pary. In Pali we can either take it as an insertion of *i* between *r* & *y* or '*y*' inserted between pari and the dissimilar vowel.

21 As a general rule a triple consonant in a word is reduced to a double consonant: *candra=canda, mantra=manta* etc.—(*indriya* and *gantvā* are exceptions). But by epenthesis: *harmya=hammiya, √kar+tvā=karitvā* (also *katvā*). Assimilation takes place in a triple consonant containing a sibilant

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Some other processes :—

39. Analogy—is responsible for certain irregular forms of words: *su+gati=sugati* sometimes becomes *suggati* on the analogy of *duggati* (*dur+gati*); similarly *subbaca* (*su+vacas*) on the analogy of dubbaca, and *anuddaya* on the analogy of *niddaya*. These pairs usually go together; hence this imitation. For the same reason *vāyu* becomes *vāyo* on the analogy of *tejo* and *āpo*. *Puthujjana* is equated with *pṛthagjana*, (average men) but through confusion with *pṛthu=several* (cp. *puthusamaṇabrāhmaṇā*). *Bahu+suta+ya* should be *bāhusacca* but the actual form is *bāhusacca* through mixing-up with *sacca*. *Nir+gacchati=nirgacchati=niggacchati* but there is also the form *nigacchati* used in the same sense with *ni-* instead of *nir-*; (see 90); *√nṛt+ya=nacca*—(*ty=cc*); so *naccana* has a double *cc* although it is derived from *√nṛt+ana;* the doubling of *k* of *sakkuṇāti* (*√sak+uṇā*) is in imitation of *sakkoti* (*√sak+no*).

40. By false analogy new grammatical forms which are not covered by the rules of grammar, are made: *manas* and *vacas* are consonantal bases, and their instrumentive sing. forms are *manasā* and *vacasā* respectively, and on their analogy *mukha* and *pada* form the inst. *mukhasā, padasā*.

41. There is a tendency of declining a consonantal base as if it were a vowel base; (see 13), and forms of both consonant and vowel bases are met with: *karman—kammanā, kammena* in the instr., *dhītar* forms *dhītarā*, in the instr. and there is also the form *dhītāya* like the instr. of *kaññā, kāriṅ* becomes *kārinaṁ* and *kāriṁ* in the accusative of *kārī*; the former is Skt. *kārinaṁ*; in the same way *verinesu* and *verīsu* in the locative plu. of *verī*, (Skt. *vairin*); the former is formed from a hypothetical base *verina*; *mahat* ought to form *mahanto* in the nominative plu. masculine (Skt. *mahantaḥ*) but there is *mahantā* on the analogy of *puttā*; the present participle *gacchat*—(*-at, -ant*) forms the nom. sing, masc. *gaccham* (Skt. *gacchan*) and *gacchanto* on the analogy of *putto*, and the plu. form is *gacchantā* on the analogy of *puttā* although it ought to be *gacchanto* from Skt. *gacchantaḥ*, but then *gacchanto* is the nom. sing. form; *pacat* in the loc. sing. forms *pacati* as in

and a nasal after one of the consonants is dropped, and a vowel may or may not be introduced. *jyotsnā=juṇhā, kṛtsna=kasina* etc. (see 31); *cartman* becomes *vaṭuma*. With a double consonant in the middle either assimilation or epenthesis takes place: *ārya=ayya* or *ariya*, *√vas+ta=vuttha* or *vasita*, *tṛshṇā=taṇhā* or *tasiṇā;* (see 21). With a double consonant in the beginning assimilation first takes place, and then one of the consonants is dropped or the double consonant is separated by epenthesis: *smarati>ssarati=sarati* or *sumarati; √snā=nhā=nahā; snāta>mhita=mihita, sneha=sineha;* (see 10).

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Skt. as well as *pacantasmiṁ, pacantamhi* as in the loc. pl. of *putta*. The consonantal form is preserved in the inst. sing. of *vāc=vācā* in *manasā vācā uda cetasā*.

42. In the declension of vowel bases too instances of false analogy are found: the gen. sing. of *kapi* in Skt. is *kapeḥ* but Pali *kapissa* is on the analogy of *puttassa*, and *kapino* is on the analogy of words in *-in*, gen. sing., like *çacin—çacinaḥ*; *-smin* (loc. sing.) and *-smā* (abl. sing.) are used with pronominal bases in Skt. but these are also applied in Pali to vowel bases as well, e.g., *kapismiṁ, kapismā, puttasmiṁ, puttasmā*. These forms, however, are not met with in Skt. In Skt. the dat. gen. sing. forms of *kanyā* as also of other feminine vowel bases are different but in Pali not only these two but ablative and loc. sing. forms too are the same as the inst. sing. form. In Pali the nom. and acc. pl. forms are identical (except in the declension of *putta* and of the first person pronoun); the abl. pl. forms are the same as the inst. pl., and the dat. pl. forms are the same as gen. pl. In Skt. this is not the case. Instances can be multiplied but these examples will suffice to illustrate the point.

43. Conjugation too provides examples of false analogy: In Skt. the pl. of *karoti* is *kurvanti* but Pali has not only the pl. *kubbanti* but also a sing. *kubbati* which is unknown in Skt.; Skt. has *mriyate* from √*mṛ* but Pali has *marati* on the analogy of forms like *pacati* as well as the rare form *miyyati* corresponding to Skt. *mriyate*; √*vṛ* forms *vṛṇoti* in Skt. but Pali √*vṛ=var* (*ati*) as in *saṁvarati* as if it were a root of the first conj. Compare the form *vuṇāti* instead of *vuṇoti* (Skt. *vṛṇoti*). Pali *jināti* is on the analogy of the roots of the fifth conj. (besides the regular *jeti* and *jayati*). *Vadeti* is on the analogy of the roots of the seventh conj. (besides *vadati*); cp. *puneti* instead of *puṇāti*. *-Vā* in Pali is the fifth conjugational sign but as almost all the roots of the fourth conj. add *nā* it is optionally regarded as a fourth conj. sign, e.g., *suṇoti, suṇāti*; *pappoti. pāpuṇāti*. In fact forms with *nā* are more common. The very rare form *sakkati* (instead of *sakkoti*) is on the analogy of *pacati*; similarly *karamāna* instead of *karomāna*. Skt. *pacāni*, 1st person sing imperative is Pali *pacāmi* because the pl. of the Ist pers. imperative in Pali *pacāma* is the same as in Skt., and as the first pers. pl. present tense in Skt. *pacamāḥ* is eqivalent to Pali *pacāma* so the sing. of the imperative 1st. pers. in Pali is made the same as the form of the present tense. Skt. has *paceyam* and *pacema* in the 1st. pers. optative sing. and pl. respectively but the Pali forms are *paceyyāmi* and *paceyyāma* in the 1st. pers. sing. and pl., *paceyyāsi, paceyyātha* in the 2nd pers. sing. and pl. on

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the analogy of the forms of the present tense. Pali *paceyyaṃ*, medial optative, 1st pers. sing. is equal to Skt. *paceyam* which is, however, the corresponding active form. *Deti*, *denti*, (*ni*) *dheti*[22] are formed on the analogy of the imperative *dehi*. Perfect *āhuḥ* becomes *āhaṃsu* in Pali on the analogy of forms like *akaṃsu*; (*āhu* is also frequent in Pali). *Sat*+√*kṛ*+*tya*>*satkṛtya*=*sakkacca*, a gerundial form used as an adverb has also the form *sakkaccaṃ* on the analogy of adverbs like *sīghaṃ*, *saṇikaṃ*.

44. The lengthening of *a* in *pakkāmi* (*pa*+√*kam*+*i*) is due to confusion with forms like *pacāmi* (√*pac*+*a*+*mi*, *ā* lengthened); see 69. *Udapādi* and *udatāri* have a long vowel for a similar reason. Pali has *kapībhi* with *ī* on the analogy of lengthening *a* before gen. pl. *nām* (e.g., *puttrāṇām*); similarly *kapisu* has sometimes the *ī* lengthened—*kapīsu*.

45. The *n* of *sakkuṇāti* is lingualized because most of the roots of the 4th conj. has the lingual nasal (cp. *suṇāti*, *pâpuṇāti*); see 43. The *n* of *anha* in *sāyaṇha*, *majjhaṇha* is lingualized on the analogy of *pubbaṇha*; similarly the *ṇ* of *kasiṇa* (Skt. *kṛtsna*). *Juṇhā* (Skt. *jyotsnā*), *suṇhā*, *suṇisā* (Skt. *snuṣā*) have the *ṇ* because almost all the combinations of *nh* are lingualized *ṇh* (e.g., *gaṇhāti*, *taṇhā*); see 31.

46. Dissimilation—is making different one of the sounds repeated in a word. This process is the opposite of Assimilation. The few examples of it are: *lāṅgala*=*naṅgala*, *lāṅula*=*naṅgula*, *lalāṭa*=*nalāṭa*—these are words with two *l* s. *Cikitsā*=*tikicchā* (but *vi*-*cikitsā*=*vicikicchā*). *Menander* changes one *n* into *l* in *Milinda*.

47. Metathesis—is the transposition of syllables or letters in a word. It is also rare: *maṭaka*=*makasa*, *gardabha*=*gadrabha*, *hrada*=*daha* and *rahada* (through imaginary *hada* and *harada*). Metathesis takes place whenever *h* is followed by a semi-vowel. In fact *h* is always used to aspirate a consonant in Pali: *jihvā*=*jivhā*, *sāhvaya*=*savhaya*, *ahna*=*anha*, *mahyam*=*mayhaṃ*, *upānah*=*upahanā*, √*gah*+*nā*=*gaṇhā*(*ti*), √*muh*+*ya*=*muyha*(*ti*), the present participle suffix—*ant* becomes *nta*. In *suṃsumāra* the *ṃ* is shifted (*susuṃmāra*; Skt. *śiśumāra* has no *ṃ*), the *u* is shifted in *suṇhā* and *suṇisā*, equivalents of Skt. *snuṣā*. Conjunct *ry* also shifts the position of the consonants: √*kar*+*yāt*=*kay* (*i*)*rā*, *pari*+*upa*+√*ās* (*paryupās*)=*payirupās*(*ati*); similarly *payirudāharati* (*pari*+*ud*). In *yr* a vowel is often inserted showing the tendency in Pali of avoiding a conjunct consonant like this.

22 Skt. √*dā* becomes *dadāti*, also in Pali, and Skt. √*dhā* becomes *dadhāti* but in Pali *dadhāti* becomes *dahati* (as in *paridahati*, *saṃvidahati*). See 59.

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Exceptions: *brahman, brāhmaṇa, gahvara=gabbhara, hrasva =rassa, hyaḥ* (being mono-syllabic) becomes *hiyyo* by epenthesis. In *rh* epenthesis takes place, (see 34 and for *nir+√har* see 90).

48. Elision: A vowel is dropped in the following words: *agāra=agga* (cp. *bhattagga*), *duhitā=dhītā, ājāneya=ājañña*, (cp. the forms *jātiyā=jaccā, rattiyā=ratyā, nadiyo=najjo*). The initial vowel is dropped in *snuṣā=husā* and sometimes in *uposatha= posatha*; (cp. the form *thī* as a variant of *itthī*). *Api, iva, idāni, iti*, the last following a niggahīta have optional forms without the initial vowel. This loss of the initial vowel cannot be accounted for by the rules of sandhi.

A consonant is elided in the body of the following words: *sthavira=thera, mayūra=mora, yavāgū=yāgu, caturdaça=cuddasa, coddasa, khalu=kho, bhadante* has an abbreviated form *bhante*; *Kusinārā* is from *Kuśinagara, abhiṇha* from *abhikkhaṇa, mātucchā* from *mātṛsvasā, dhorayha* from *dhuravayha*(?); the variants of *dukkha, upekkhā, apekkhā*, are *dukha, upekhā, apekhā* respectively. Skt. Perfect *vividuḥ=vidu* in Pali because the perfect tense was regarded superfluous and the distinctive feature of it—the reduplicative syllable was lost; *ṁ* is dropped in *a+ṁśaṁs= āsas* (*-āna*) and in such examples of sandhi or metre as *labheyyáhaṁ* (*labheyyaṁ+ahaṁ*), *kathâhaṁ* (*kathaṁ+ahaṁ*), *addasáhaṁ* (*addasaṁ+ahaṁ*), *Buddhânusāsanaṁ* (*Buddhānaṁ+sāsanaṁ*).

Ya at the end of a word in a sentence is sometimes dropped: *anupādāya* becomes *anupādā*—(*anupādā āsavehi cittaṁ vimucci*); *vyārosanā paṭighasaññā* instead of *vyārosanāya paṭighasaññāya*—(*vyārosanā paṭighsaññā na aññamaññassa dukkhaṁ iccheyya*), *abhiññā* instead of *abhiññāya* (*sayaṁ abhiññā sacchikatvā*); *paṭisaṅkhā yoniso=paṭisaṅkhāya yoniso*; *saddhā* instead of *saddhāya* (*saddhā agārasmā anagāriyaṁ pabbaji*). *katipaya* as well as *katipa*—(*katipâhaṁ*).[23]

49. Compensation: The loss of a consonant is often compensated by lengthening the preceding vowel: *upaniṣad=upanisā, candramas=candimā*, (see 11); *iṁ* in a word becomes *ī*: *siṁha= sīha, viṁçati=vīsati*; cp. *daṁṣṭrā=dāṭhā*; *saṁ* becomes *sa* in *sākacchā, sārambha*. *√Kar+tabba=kātabba* (Skt. *kartavya*) also *kattabba, √kar+tuṁ=kātuṁ* (Skt. *kartum*) also *kattuṁ*. In sandhi *ṁ* is sometimes dropped—(see Elision 48), and the preceding vowel, if short, is legthened by compensation: *kathaṁ+ahaṁ=kathâhaṁ, labheyyaṁ+ahaṁ = labheyyâhaṁ, addasaṁ+ahaṁ = addasâhaṁ*.

23 See contraction 54. Some of these examples may as well come under 'Contraction'.

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Many examples of compensation are found in Pali sandhi but there is nothing like this in Skt.

50. A long vowel in a Pali word is never followed by a double consonant or by a niggahīta, and so it is shortened before them: *√hū+tvā=hutvā*, *√dā+tvā=datvā*, *rātri=ratti*, *parākrama=parakkama*, *śūdra=sudda*, *ārya=ayya* (also *ariya*), *sūrya=suriya*, *ācārya=ācariya*, *ākhyāna=akkhāna*, *ākrośa=akkosa*, *ā+√jnā+ya=aññāya*, *śānta=santa*, *dānta=danta*, *pātra=patta*, *śāstra=sattha*; *māṁsa=maṁsa*, *bhavān=bhavaṁ*, *kañcā+ṁ=kañcaṁ*. Exceptions: *dātta* (=dah, a big knife); here *ā* is not shortened in order to avoid *datta* which has a different meaning. In sandhi: with *su* and *sa*, *svākkhatā* (but *akkhāta*), *sâkkhara*; also *vākkarana*, *vākya*.

51. Instead of a long vowel being shortened before a double consonant the double consonant is sometimes made single: *dīrgha=dīgha*, *śīrṣa=sīsa*, *śīghra=sīgha*, *mūlya=mūla*, *dhātrī=dhātī*, *Skt. jīryati=jīrati* or *jīyati* in Pali, *lākṣā=lākhā*.

52. A long vowel followed by a single consonant is quantitatively the same as a short vowel followed by a double consonant: *krīḍā=khiḍḍā*, *pipīlikā=kipillikā*, *ālāpa=allāpa*, *pūya>puyya* =pubba*; *cūla* as well as *culla*, *nīla* as well as *niḍḍa*, *kātabba* as well as *kattabba*, *mīyati* as well as *miyyati*, *pitūnaṃ* as well as *pitunnaṃ*, *pañca+naṃ=pañcannaṃ* (instead of *pañcānaṃ*); cp. *Uruvilvā=Uruvelā*, *ā+√chad=acchādeti* for which see 81; cp. also *ādarśa=ādāśa*.

53. It may be mentioned at this stage that all the above rules have the effect of changing different Skt. words into Pali with the same form: *accha=accha*, clear or *ṛksha=accha*, a bear; *puṭṭha=pṛṣṭa*, asked or *puṣṭa*, nourished; *oṭṭha=uṣṭra*, camel or *oṣṭha*, lip; *dosa=dveṣa*, hatred (to avoid *deśa*, country) or *doṣa*, fault; *palāpa*, non-sense or *palāva*, chaff; *pubba=*before or *pūya*, pus; *puttā=putrāḥ* (nom. pl.) or *putrāt* (abl. sing.); *sat-* the present participle of *√as* (also meaning 'good) or *śrat* which has the same sense as *saddhā—(sad+√dhā)*; *sa* is the abbreviation of *saha* or of *sva-*: *sadattha=sat(d)attha* or *sa*, own+*attha*, (*d* as an insertion); *jhāyati=dhyāyati*, meditates or *kṣāyati*, burns; *sarati*, moves or *smarati*, remembers; *satta=*seven or *sattva*, being; *sutta=sūtra*, a short rule or *supta*, asleep; *appamatta=apramatta*, ardent or *alpamātra*, only a little (cp. *appamattā na mīyare*, the earnest do not die and *appamatto ayaṁ gandho*, only a little is this fragrance); *aḍḍha=ardha*, half or *ṛḍḍha*; rich; *aṭṭha=artha*, meaning or *aṣṭa*, eight; *santa=√śam+ta*, tranquil or *√śram*.

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to strive + *ta*[24]; *danta* = √*dam* + *ta*, tamed or *danta*, tooth; *mūla* = root or *mūlya*, price.

It is easy to change a Skt. word into its equivalent in Pali by applying the rules mentioned above, but to do the reverse is not easy. It is difficult, for instance, to know whether the initial *u* of *utu* is an original vowel or derived from *r*; *tth* may represent *sth* or *rth*: *sattha* may be *śāstra*, science, scripture or *śastra*, weapon, *sārtha*, caravan or *sa* + *artha*, meaningful (cp. *satthaṁ savyañjanaṁ*); *tt* may be original or may represent assimilation of *tr* or *pt* as in *patta* = *pātra*, bowl or *patra*, leaf or *pra* + √*āp* + *ta*.

54. Contraction: *aya*, *ava* are sometimes contracted to *e* and *o* respectively: *adhyayana* = *ajjhena*, *Udayana* = *Udena*, *Ujjayinī* = *Ujjenī*, *Yavana* = *Yona*, *lavaṇa* = *loṇa*, *avakāça*, = *okāsa*, *avatarati* = *otarati*, *vyavahāra* = *vohāra*; *nayati* and *neti*, *palāyati* and *paleti*, *corayati* and *coreti*, *bhavanto* and *bhonto*. *Āyana* may also be *āna*: *Maudgalyāyana* = *Moggallāna*, *Kaccāyana* = *Kaccāna*, *paṭisallāyana* (a hypothetical form) = *paṭisallāna*. *Āścarya* = *acchera*, (*āścarya* > * *acchayra* = *acchera*, *ay* becoming *e*), besides the common form *acchariya*.

55. Reduplication: Sometimes a consonant is arbitrarily reduplicated: *pratikūla* = *paṭikkula*, *anuddaya* (*anu* + *daya*), *upasṛṣṭa* = *upassaṭṭha*, *visarjayati* = *vissajjeti*, *jātassara* (*jāta* + *saras*), *upakkilesa* (*upa* + *kleśa*), *bhisakka* (*bhiṣak*), *suggati* (*su* + *gati*), *naccana*—Pali √*nac* + *ana*,[25] *uju* and *ujju*, *bhadanta* and *bhaddanta*, *Vajjī* is from *vṛjin*.

Y has a tendency of being reduplicated in Pali: *mṛyate* = *miyyati*, *bhāgineya* = *bhāgineyya*, *vi*√*ci* + *ya* = *viceyya*, *hyaḥ* = *hiyyo*, *śreyaḥ* = *seyyo*, *bhūyaḥ* = *bhiyyo*, *dakṣiṇīya* = *dakkhiṇeyya*, *bhojanīya* = *bhojaneyya*, *vyākaraṇa* = *veyyākaraṇa*[26]. *V* also may be reduplicated; *vv* = *bb*: *yobbana* (*yauvana*), *pasibbaka* (*prasevaka*), *pubba*, pus is Skt. *puya*—(*y* = *b*) reduplicated. Cp. the reduplication of consonants in Bengali.

56. The consonants in the following words appear to have been reduplicated but by comparison with the Skt. forms they are found to be unreal cases of reduplication: *pabbajati* (√*vaj*, Skt, √*vraj*), *pakkamati* (√*kam*, Skt. √*kram*), *vippayutta* (*vi* + *pa*, Skt. *vi* + *pra*),

24 The sameness of form has led to the derivation of samaṇa from √*sam*, to be quite, instead of from √*śram*.

25 *Suggati*, *naccana*, *anuddaya* are due to analogy; see 39.

26 Reduplicated *ya* often assumes the form *eyya* causing confusion with the optative 3rd. pers. sing. form; (cp ekañ ca *jeyya-m-attānaṁ sa ve saṅgāmaj-uttama*—here *jeyya* is optative).

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udakappamāṇa (*pamāṇa*, Skt. *pramāṇa*), *chaddanta* (*cha*, Skt. *ṣaḍ*) ; see 23.

57. Aspiration: *paruṣa*=*pharusa*, *paraśu*=*pharasu*, *kīla*=*khīla* (*peg*). *sukumāra*=*sukhumāla*, *pushya*=*phussa*, *kubja*=*khujja*, *grāsa*=*ghāsa*, *krīḍā*=*khiḍḍā*, *basta*=*bhasta*, *busa*=*bhusa*, *Pippalī*=*Pipphalī*, *pippala*=*pipphala*, *Vidura*=*Vidhura*, *Godāvarī*=*Godhāvarī*, *kiñcikkha* (*kincid*+*ka*); *labheta*=*labhetha*, *amanyata*=*amaññatha*, √*ṣak*+*no*+*ti*=*sakkoti* but in the aorist and the future, *asakkhi*, *sakkhissati* ; *ghara* is from *gṛha*.

58. When *saṁ* √*kar*+*a* becomes *saṅkhāra* or *nir*+√*ci*+*ta* becomes *nicchita* it appears there has been aspiration. But these are not genuine cases of aspiration as would appear from their equivalents in Skt. ; the Skt. forms are *saṁskāra* and *niścita*, and the aspiration is due to the assimilation of *sk* and *śc*. (See 91 and 89).

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59. Pali and Prakrit. It may be noted that Pali words exhibit many characteristics which are found in a greater degree in the Prakrit dialects. e. g., dropping the intervocal consonant; cp. *mayūra*=*mora*—(*a*+*u*=*o*), *sthavira*=*thera*—(*a*+*i*=*e*); *y* replacing an intervocal consonant: *khādita and svādita* sometimes become *khāyita*. *sāyita*, *tadidaṁ*=*tayidaṁ* ; the change of *ājñā* into *āṇā* (not *aññā* which means super-knowledge) is according to Prakrit in which *jñ*=*ṇṇ* ; replacement of mute aspirates by *h*: *rudhira*=*ruhira*, *laghu*=*lahu*(*ka*), *prabhu*=*pahu*, *prabhūta*=*pahūta*, √*dhā* forms the base *dadhā* which becomes *daha*(ti)—cp. *paridahati*, *samvidahati*, *sandahati* ; (see 43, foot note).

60. In Magadhi Prakrit unlike in Pali the nom. sing. of the base in *a* (both masculine and neut.) ends in *e*, and there are some examples of this in Pali: *atthi attakāre...parakāre...purisakāre* instead of *attakāro* etc.; *sukhe dukkhe jīvasattame* instead of *sukhaṁ* etc. These expressions are found where the views of rival teachers are discussed, and possibly their linguistic peculiarities have been preserved. *Vanappagumbe yathā phussitagge* (Ratana Sutta) instead of *vanappagumbo yathā phussitaggo* is another instance of nom. sing. in *e*; (cp. *se* and *ye* in *seyyathā* and *yebhuyyena* instead of the usual base *so* or *sa* and *yo or ya*; similarly *bhante* and *bhikkhave* end in *e*).

In Magadhi *j* too is replaced by *y* ; in Pali the only example of such a change is *nija*=*niya* ; *dy becomes yy* but in Pali only *d* of *-ud* followed by *y* becomes *yy*: *udyāna*=*uyyāna*, *ud*+√*yuñj*=*uyyj* and *r* invariably becomes *l* but in Pali only in a few words this change takes place ; (see 8 and 25).

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There are other features of Magadhi which are, however, not found in Pali. And Pali connot be called Magadhi although there are traces of Magadhism in it.

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61. Sanskrit grammatical forms and Pali. I have merely indicated the phonetic changes governing Pali and have not attempted to show how far these were due to the influence of the various dialects. "It is a wrong method to give the Skt. from a Pali word as its ultimate reduction and explanation", because some Skt. words especially Buddhist Skt. are later than Pali, e.g., *smṛtyupasthāna* (*satipaṭṭhāna*), *sākshātkaroti* corresponds to *sacchikaroti*, *pṛthagjana* (*puthujjana*), *autapya* (*otappa*), *aupapaduka* (*opapātika*), *sārdham* (*saddhiṁ*) etc. Again some words are peculiarly Pali like *peyyāla*, *nīvaraṇa*, *sākacchā pilandhati* etc. It is, however, possible to equate Pali words with Skt. in the majority of cases. I have avoided as far as possible words whose equivalents are of a doubtful character, also those that are very rarely met with. It should be borne in mind that Pali formations are different in many cases from Skt. formations. It would, for instance, be undesirable to deduce from Skt. *aiśvarya* and *autsukya*, Pali *issariya* and *ussukka* and to cite these as examples of Skt. *ai* and *au* changing into Pali *i* and *u* respectively. It would be better to derive the Pali words from *issara* and *ussuka*, the initial vowels not undergoing strengthening because in such matters Pali grammatical rules are very indefinite. Similarly *gārava* may be derived from Pali *garu* and not from Skt. *guru* changing into *gaurava* and *u* becoming *au* by *vṛddhi*; the *a* of *garu* becomes *ā* by *vṛddhi* and, so, *gārava*; instead of equating adhippāya with abhiprāya it may be taken as formed with *adhi-* instead of with abhi-. Anāthapiṇḍika must not be derived from Anāthapiṇḍada, Vāsuladattā from Vāsavadattā, Purindada from Purandara or Bharukaccha from Bhṛgukaccha, although these pairs refer to the same persons or place. And it would be wrong to say that the *e* of Mahendra is changed into *i* in Mahinda for according to Pali sandhi Mahā + inda = Mahinda. (See É. Müller's *Pali Grammar*, Introduction)

62. There is a tendency in Pali of using simple words, and cumbrous ones like *svasṛ*, *bhāṣya*, *sāntvanā*, *manāṁsi* (nominative plu. of *manas*) are avoided, and other words are used in their place. Again, simplified forms are used: $\sqrt{kir} + na = kiṇṇa$ but in Skt. the root of *kīrṇa* is *kṛ*; similarly $\sqrt{jir}$ (instead of $\sqrt{jṛ}$) + $na = jiṇṇa$ (but *jarā* has to be derived from $\sqrt{jṛ} + a$).

63. A comparative discussion of Pali and Skt. grmmatical rules is beyond the scope of this article but certain rules of Skt. grammar are mentioned here that will help in understanding the

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forms of Pali words which explained by Pali grammar alone are apt to be regarded as exceptions. But it must, at the same time, be remembered that Pali grammar has its own method although it has not been able to break away from the moorings of Skt.

64. Skt. forms which are avoided in Pali are also met with side by side with the forms that are peculiarly Pali. √*Mṛ* forms *mriyate* in Skt. but Pali has *marati* besides *mīyati* or *miyyati*; Skt. *karoti* forms the pl. *kurvanti* and not *karonti*; but in Pali besides the regular form karonti there is the form *kubbanti*; (see 43). Skt. medial form from √*kṛ* is *kurute* which is also found in Pali. In Skt. there is the optative suffix 'yāt', and besides the regular Pali *kareyya* there is *kayrā* (√*kar*+*yāt*); *vāc* forms the inst. sing. *vācā* (also in Pali) but the corresponding Pali form *vācā* has the inst. *vācāya* which is, however the regular form; *h* preceded by any vowel except *a*, *ā* and followed by a vowel or a soft consonant[27] is changed into *r*, and by this rule the form *sabbhireva* (*sadbhiḥ*+*eva*) may be explained; it is, however, taken as a case of consonantal insertion in Pali. The medial voice has almost fallen out of use in Pali; this is usually changed into the Active but Skt. medial verbs are also found in Pali poetry: *labhate*, *miyyare*; in the passive voice many Pali verbs have ths medial terminations applied to them although such terminations unlike in Skt. are optional.

65. The Skt. base is found in some compounds: *macchara* is from *mat*, the Skt. base of *aham* plus *sara*; the pl. base of *yūyam* is *yuṣmad* in Skt. and the corresponding Pali base *tumhad* is to be found in *tumhādisa*; the base in Skt. is *manaḥ*, and in Pali it would be *mano* (cp. *manomaya*, *manopubbaṅgama*); *tadutṭhāya* is *tato uṭṭhāya*—tad the Skt. base is retained in Pali.

66. A Pali form is sometimes easier to explain with the help of Skt. rules: *etad*+*ahosi*=*etadahosi* in Skt. but as in Pali the final consonant is replaced by *ṁ*, the Pali form is explained by a special rule that the *ṁ* of *taṁ*, *etaṁ*, *yaṁ* and *sakiṁ*, *sakaṁ* is changed into *d* when followed by a vowel; thus the original Skt. form is reached. *Kṛta* is derived from √*kṛ*+*ta* but in Pali this is to be explained by √*kar*+*ta*, the final *r* being dropped. Similarly *smṛ*> *smar*> *ssar*=√*sar*+*ti*=*sati*. *Sam* √*sṛ*+*a*=*saṁsāra* (*r*=*ār* by *vṛddhi*)—Pali *saṁ*+√*sar*+*a*; *ā*+√*hṛ*+*a*=*āhāra*—Pali *ā*+√*har*+*a*. *Samvṛta*=*sam*+√*vṛ*+*ta*—Pali *saṁ*+√*var*+*ta*, by dropping the final consonant and pointing out that the *a* following *v* is changed into *u*. (Here √*vu* cannot be taken as the root because *saṁvaṛa* cannot be explained from √*vu*.)

27 The last three mutes of a group, semi-vowels and *h* are soft.

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67. In Skt. the conjugational sign of √*āp* is *nu* and in Pali it is the strengthened form *no*, e. g. *pa*+√*āp*+*no*=*pappoti* but the gerundial *pappuyya* has to be explained by *pa*√*āp*+*nu*+*ya*.

68. In Skt. the consonantal base in *-in*, for instance, *cārin* forms the feminine *cārinī*, but since *cārin* is regarded as the vowel base *cārī* in Pali this form is explained by *nī* added to the base to form the feminine (with the preceding vowel shortened)—*cārī*+*nī*=*cārinī*.

69. In Skt. the preceding *a* is lengthened before a suffix beginning with *m* or *v* : e. g., √*pac*+*a*+*mi*=*pacāmi*. *Bhuttāvī* (*bhutta*+*vī*) can be explained by this rule ; similarly *dassāvī*.

70. A number of roots which have the conjugational sign *a* but whose roots do not take *guṇa* are classified under a separate group in Skt. so that √*kṛṣ* becomes *kṛṣati*, Pali √*kas*=*kasati* (but if in Pali the *ṛ* is *guṇa*ted into *ar* as is usually done then on the analogy of √*vṛdh*=*vardh*=*vaḍḍh*(*ati*) the form would be *kars*=*kassati* which, however, is the passive). As *guṇa* may take place in √*kṛṣ*+*aka* Skt. will have both *kṛṣaka* and *karṣaka* but Pali *kars*+*aka*=*kassaka* only. In the same way √*spṛś*=Pali √*phus* (*ati*) but √*spṛś*+*a*=Pali *pharśa*=*phassa*.

71. In Skt. *jayati* and *nayati* are formed from √*ji*+*a*+*ti* and √*nī*+*a*+*ti* respectively ; the vowel of the root in the first conjugation taking *guṇa*, the bases become *je* and *ne* which followed by *a* (*e*+*a*=*ay*) make by rule of sandhi—*jayati* and *nayati*; and the same in Pali. Similarly √*bhū*+*a*=*bho*+*a*=*bhav*+*a*+*ti*=*bhavati* both in Skt. and Pali. But in Pali there are additional forms *jeti*, *neti*, *bhoti* (cp. *anubhoti*)—the tense terminations in these are directly applied after the vowel of the root is strengthened. (See for *guṇa* 76 and for *e*=*ay* and *o*=*av* 77.)

72. *Tṛ* the suffix for agent nouns forms the feminine by adding *ī* which together with *ṛ* becomes *rī* by sandhi rule. The only word in Pali which can be explained by this rule is *dhātī*—Skt. *dhātṛ*+*ī*=*dhātrī*=*dhātī*.

73. Skt. √*vac* forms the p. p. p. *ukta* but the Pali is *vutta*. The Skt. form is, however, found in the word *durutta*, (*dur*+*ukta*).

74. It may be mentioned that whereas in Skt. there are ten conjugations, there are only seven in Pali. The first conjugation in Pali contains three conjugations which are lumped together without anything common among them ; (see Duroiselle's *Pali Grammar*). The first and the third divisions of the first conjugation form together the first conjugation in Skt , and the second and the fourth divisions are two separate conjugations in Skt. And in Pali under the first conjugation are included roots whose vowels are *guṇa*ted as

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well as those that are not. But in Skt. these two classes of roots are treated separately, and much confusion is thereby avoided; (see 70).

75. It may be noted that no form corresponding to the indeclinable *labbhā*, (originally future passive participle) is to be found in Skt. It is on the analogy of *sakkā*.

76. *Guṇa* and *Vṛddhi*: In Skt. the guṇa of *i, ī*; *u, ū*; *ṛ, ṝ*; *ḷi* are *e,o, ar*, and *al* respectively; (the other vowels cannot take *guṇa*), and the *vṛddhi* of *a*; *i,ī, e*; *u,ū,o*; *ṛ,ṝ*; *ḷi* are *ā, ai, au, ār, āl* respectively. A knowledge of this is necessary for understanding the formation of certain Pāli words: *ṛ, ḷi* donot take guṇa in mṛta, Pali mata, √*smṛ*+*ti*=*smṛti*, Pali *sati*, √*dṛś*, (Pali √*dis*)+*ta*=*dṛṣṭa*=*diṭṭha*. But *guṇa* takes place in *mṛ*+*ana*, Pali √*mar*+*aṇa*=*maraṇa*, √*smṛ*+*a*+*ti* =*smarati*, Pali *sarati*, *dṛś*+*ana*=*darsana*, Pali *dassana*, √*klip*= *kalp, kapp* (*a*), *kapp* (*eti*). √*Dṛś*, becomes √*dis*, and √*dis*+*ta*=*diṭṭha* but *dassana* cannot be explained without the help of Skt. root √*dṛś*, which by *guṇa* becomes *darś*+*ana*=*dassana*; from Pali √*dis* or √ *das* it is not possible to have *dassana*. *Vṛddhi* except of *a* is not recognised nor possible in Pali but to take one example—bhāveti cannot be explained by *guṇa*; √*bhū*+*e* by *guṇa*=*bho*+*e*=*bhaveti*—(*o*=*av*) but the form is *bhāveti*; whereas the *vṛddhi* of *u* being *au*, √*bhū* becomes *bhau*+*e*=*bhāveti*—(*au*=*āv*); see 77. Similarly *bhāva* is obtained by means of *vṛddhi* and *bhava* by *guṇa* of √*bhū*+*a*.

77. Sandhi. Some of the Skt. sandhi rules have to be used in order to explain certain fromations in Pali which are not covered by Pali rules: *e, o, ai* and *au* followed by a vowel are changed into *ay, av, āy*, and *āv* respectively:—√*nī*+*a*=*ne*+*a*, √*bhū*+*a*=*bho* (by guṇa)+*a*, √*bhu*+*e*=*bhau* (by *vṛddhi*)+*e* and applying this rule *nayati, bhavati, bhāveti* respectively are obtained. See 76.

It must be noted that *e* and *o* may be the contracted forms of *aya* and *ava* respectively as well: *Udayana*=*Udena*, *avatarati*= *otarati*; (See 54).

78. In Skt. assimilation is unknown but consonantal changes are regulated by means of consonant sandhis and other rules. A mute is changed into the third of its own class followed by a vowel or a soft consonant, so that *mahat*+*dhana*=*mahaddhana*, *sat*+*dharma* =*saddharma*, *sat*+*bhiḥ*=*sadbhi* Pali *sabbhi*;[28] the same change, however, takes place in Pali by assimilation. Although there is no such thing in Pali as consonantal sandhi Skt. consonant sandhi rules explain certain Pali forms which cannot otherwise be accounted for: *paṭi*+√*yat*=*paṭiyādeti*, *nir*+√*yat*=*niyyādeti* —these forms cannot be explained except with the help of

28 *Tasmāt*+*iha*=*tasmātiha* is an exception.

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the above rule; similarly *tāvat + eva = tāvadeva*. In fact if a vowel or a soft consonant follows, a mute always is the third letter of a group, and on the other hand, if a hard consonant follows the mute is always the first letter of a group, e.g., *mahad + dhana*, *sad + dhā*, *tad + uṭṭhāya*; Skt.: *ut + panna*, *tat + puruṣa*, *mat + sāra*.

79. In Skt. a consonant followed by a nasal is changed into the nasal of its own class: *√pad + na = (sam)panna* but this change takes place in Pali by the assimilation of consonants.

80. *Ch* following a vowel is changed into *cch*: *ā + chādayati = acchādayati*. This is covered in Pali by the rule of compensation: (see 52). But *kāma + chanda = kāmacchanda* is to be explained by the Skt. rule; so also *succhanna*, (*su + channa*).

81. There are cases in Skt. in which sandhi rules are not applied but consonantal changes take place according to other rules: *√muc + ta = mukta*, Pali *mutta*, *√yuj + ta = yukta*, Pali *yutta*, *ud √vij + da = udvigna*, Pali *ubbigga*, (*j* becomes *g + n = gg*), *√labh + ta = labdha*, Pali *laddha*, *√duh + ta = dugdha*, Pali *duddha*; similarly *Buddha*, *baddha*.

82. In Skt. sandhi does not take place in every combination of consonants: pra + *√āp + no + ti = prâpnoti*, *√śak + no + ti = śaknoti*, *lag + na = lagna*, but in Pali these combinations of consonants assimilate: (see 23), and the corresponding forms are *pappoti*, *sakkoti* and *lagga*.

83. In Skt. *m* followed by a consonant in general is changed into *ṁ*, and followed by a mute becomes the nasal of the group to which the mute belongs: *sam* becomes *saṁ-* or *saṅ(gacchate)*; in Pali instead of *m* the final is always a *ṁ* which followed by a mute is changed into the nasal of the group to which the mute belongs (except the *ṁ* of (*e*)*taṁ*, *yaṁ* and *sakiṁ*, *sakaṁ* for which see 66); and the *ṁ* followed by a vowel is changed into *m*; there are, however, exceptions to this rule; sometimes assimilation with *ṁ* takes place, (see 32). Note that no change takes place when *m* is followed by a vowel in Skt., but since in Pali the final is *ṁ* a rule had to be made that *m* followed by a vowel becomes *ṁ*. This is reversion to the Skt. original.

84. In Skt. *r* followed by *r* is dropped, and the preceding vowel, if short, is lengthened. Examples from Pali: *nir + roga = nīroga*, *dur + rama = dūrama*, *dur + rakkha = dūrakkha*.

85. *S* at the end of a Skt. word is changed into *ḥ*, and in Pali *aḥ* becomes *o*. This change takes place in Pali whether the *s* or *ḥ* is at the end of a word or is followed by a vowel or any consonant; (in Skt, *aḥ* becomes *o* only before a vowel and a soft consonant): *namas = namaḥ = namo*; *manas = manaḥ = mano* (*manomaya*); *vayas—vayaḥ = vayo* (*vayo anuppatto*), *ayas = ayaḥ = ayo* (*ayoghara*), *puras =*

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puraḥ=puro (*purohita*), *manopubbaṅgama*. There is, however, an exception in *vayappatta*, and to explain this the Skt. rule on the point may be mentioned: in Skt. *aḥ* only when followed by a vowel or a soft consonant is changed into *o* (and not when followed by a hard consonant) so that *vayas=vayaḥ+prāpta=vayaḥprāpata* and by assimilation Pali *vayappatta* (like *duḥkha*=dukkha).

86. In Pali *r* at the end of *pātar* and *antar* first becomes *ḥ* and *aḥ=o*; (cp. *as=aḥ=o*). This change takes place also when a consonant follows: *pātar=pātaḥ=pato—(pāto va)*; similarly anto—(*antogabbha*); *paras=paraḥ=paro* (*parosahassa*).[29] This change does not take place when final *r* is followed by a vowel, e.g., pātar-āsa. In Skt. *r* is retained only before a vowel and a soft consonant so that *prātar+eva=prātareva* (Pali *patova*) and *antar+hito=antarhita* but the corresponding Pali from *antarahita* is an exception both according to Skt. and Pali examples.

87. *R* as the final letter in any other word or suffix, if followed by a vowel is retained and if followed by a consonant is assimilated: *nir+upadhi, nir+āsaṅka, punareva* (also *punadeva* which is an irregular form), *punar+āvattitvā*; *nir+puriṣa=nippuriṣa, nir+mala=nimmala, punar+puna=punappuna*[30], *punar+bhava=punabbhava*. But the Skt. rule is necessary in order to explain *nikkhamati* and *nipphanna*: In Skt. the final *r* is changed into *ḥ* when followed by a hard consonant, and when the hard consonant is *k* or *kh*, *p* or *ph* the *ḥ* of *niḥ* is changed into *ṣ*: *niḥ+√kram=niṣkram=nikkham(ati)*, *niḥ+panna=niṣpanna=nipphanna* in Pali. But *catur+pada* (Skt. *catuḥ+pada=catuṣpada*)=*catuppada* in Pali—this is not in conformity with the Skt. rule but is due to assimilation like other Pali examples of this kind.

88. Any *ḥ* followed by *c*, *ch* is changed into *ṣ*; the Pali word *nicchita* is from *niḥ(nir)+√ci+ta=niścita=nicchita*; so *niccho-reti* is from *niḥ+√car=niścar=nicchāreti*. But *niccala* is formed as usual by assimilation of *nir+cala*; so *duccarita* is from *dur+√car* instead of from Skt. *duścarita*.

89. It may be noted that in Skt. there are *nir* and *ni*, two separate prepositions, also in Pali there are *nir—(nir+√yā+ti=niyyāti*, goes out) and *ni-(ni+sīdati=nisīdati*, sits down); similarly *nir+mita=nimmita, ni+rodha=nirodha*. *Nir* followed by *√har* becomes *nī*: *nīharati*; so also *nīvaraṇa*. Skt. *nirgrantha* is changed into *niganṭha* due is confusion of *nir-* and *ni-*.

29 There is a form *puno-m-aham*; *puno* is formed from *punar* in the same way as *anto* from *antar*.

30 The final *r* is dropped in *punar* (*puna*).

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90. In Skt, *sam* add *pari* add an *s* before *kṛ*: *saṁskāra, pariṣ-kāra* from which Pali *saṅkhāra, parikkhāra*; (but *saṁskṛta=sakkata*, the Skt. language from *saṁ+kata*).

91. Spelling: The changing of *n* into *ṇ* in Skt. is regulated by definite rules. There are, however, some words with an original *ṇ*, e.g., *guṇa, maṇi, puṇya, aṇu* (an atom) etc. but *n* preceded by *ṛ*, *r*, *ṣ*, is changed into *ṇ* even if a vowel, a semi-vowel, a guttural or a labial interposes: *prāṇa*—(√an), *maraṇa*—(*-ana*) *Rāmāyaṇa* (*ayana*). The lingualization of *n* in a Pali word can be understood by referring to the original Skt. spelling; although the letters *ṛ* and *ṣ* are not to be found in Pali they nevertheless exercise their influence: *kṣaṇa=khaṇa*, √*khī+na=khīṇa*—(Skt. √*kṣī*), √*su+nā=suṇā(ti)*—(Skt. *sru*), √*gah+nā=gaṇhā(ti)*—(Skt. √*grah*), *pa* √*āp+unā+ti=pāpuṇāti—(pra)*.

It may be noted that this rule is not generally observed so far as the case-endings in Pali are concerned: Skt. *putrāṇām (-nām)*, Pali *puttānaṁ*; Skt. *brahmaṇa*, Pali *brahmanā*, Skt. *karmaṇi*, Pali *kammani*, the *n* of *yakṣiṇī* is not also lingualized in the Pali *yakkhinī;* similarly *bhīṣaṇa=bhisana, ghrāṇa=ghāna, bhrūṇahan =bhūnahū*. On the contrary the *n* in the following words is lingualized in Pali but not in Skt: *ñāṇa (jñāna), sakuṇa (śakuna), oṇamati (avanamati), saṇikaṁ* (corresponding to Skt. *śanaiḥ*). For the lingualization of *n* due to analogy see 45.

92. The rule of changing *n* into *ṇ* is extended in Pali so as to cover the lingualization of all the dental letters, e.g., *pṛthivī= paṭhavī, kaivarta=kevaṭṭa, nirgrantha=niganṭha*[31], *dukkaṭa*—(√*kar* but √*kar+ta=kata*), *vaṭṭati, samvaṭṭati*; (√*vṛt*), also *pavattati, saṁvattati*;[32] *paṭi* (*prati*), also *pati*; (cp. *paṭirūpa, pati+āgacchati= paccāgacchati*).

93. Roots in *ṣ* and *ś* lingualize the following *t*: √*hṛṣ+ta=hṛṣṭa= haṭṭha*, √*mṛṣ+ta=mṛṣṭa=maṭṭha*, √*dṛṣ+ta=dṛṣṭa=diṭṭha*, √*viś+ta=viṣṭa=(pa) viṭṭha*. It may again be mentioned here that wherever Pali *ṭṭh* is found the Skt. sibilant must be understood to be either lingual or palatal and where the *ṭṭh* occurs the Skt. sibilant is dental. In Skt. *s* preceded by any vowel except *a* and *ā* or a guttural is lingualized.

So, it is futile to claim Pali scholarship without a little learning in Sanskrit.

R. P. CHAUDHURI

31 The preceding *n* must always be changed into *ṇ* if the following dental is lingualized.

32 There is difference in the meaning of *vattati* and *vaṭṭati*; *vattati* is the same in meaning as Skt. *vartate*. *Vaṭṭati* is used in the sense of "is proper" in Pali—this form does not occur in Skt.

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MISCELLANY

The word Ba'ūrah in Murūj ul-Zahab of Al Ma'sūdī*

Al-Ma'sūdī, the Arab author and traveller, was born in Baghdad towards the close of the third century A.H. and died in Egypt in 345 A.H. He can roughly be referred to the period *c.* 890-956 A.D. He visited Multan and Mansurah about the year A.H. 300 (A.D. 912), and Cambay about A.H. 304 (A.D. 916). His work *Murūj ul-Zahab*[1] records some interesting events of Indian history of his time, but due to certain peculiarities of the Arab language and script some of the proper names have been so changed[2] that it is sometimes difficult to identify them. One such word is Ba'ūrah (بؤورة).[3] The word was apparently spelt in different ways by different copyists of the original work of Ma'sūdī. Meynard, Sprenger and Raverty notice nearly half a dozen variants in the different MSS. consulted by them.[4] Some of the passages where this word occurs may be given as follows:—

(i) "One of the neighbouring kings of India, who is far from the sea, is Ba'ūrah (بؤورة) who is the lord of the city of Qanūj (قنوج). This is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom. He has large armies in garrisons on the north and on the south, on the east and on the west, for he is surrounded on all sides by warlike kings."[5]

(ii) "The king of Qanūj, who is one of the kings of Sind, is Ba'ūrah; this is the title common to all kings of Qanūj. This king has four armies according to the four quarters of the wind. Each of them numbers 700,000 or 900,000 men. The army of the north wars against the prince of Multan and with the Musulmans his

* Read before the *History Section* of the eleventh session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Hyderabad (Deccan) in December 1941

1 Trans., *Elliot*, Vol. I, pp. 18-25. *Les Prairies d'or*, Texte et Traduction Par C Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta University Press (*DHNI*), I, pp. 52, 614, 578 and 578 fn. 1.

2 For example, Balharī (بلهرى) of Mānkir (مانكير) The words which have been so changed are Vallabharāja of Mānyakheṭaka, see *DHNI*, I, p. 577.

3 Meynard transcribes as *Baourah*.

4 The variants noticed so far in different MSS. are - بؤوره - بؤورده - برورة - برورة - برورة Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Bombay, 1939, p. 25.

5 *DHNI*, I, 578.

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subjects, on the frontier. The army of the south fights against the Balharī (بلهرى) king of Mānkīr. The other two armies march to meet enemies in every direction."[6]

(iii) "(Jāḥiẓ) did not know that Mihrān of Sind comes from well known sources in the highlands of Sind, from the country belonging to Qanūj, in the kingdom of Ba'ūrah and from Kashmir, Kandahar, and aṭ-Ṭāfin..."[7] Mas'ūdī further tells us that at his time a city which was called Ba'ūrah was "in the territories of Islam."[8]

It has been accepted by all scholars that the kings of Kanauj referred to in these passages were the Pratihāras who reigned from that city from c. 836 A.D. to 1018 A.D. That these rulers were of Gurjara stock seems to be suggested by the following statement from the *Silsilat ut-Tawārīkh* of Sulaymān, a Muslim merchant who flourished about the middle of the ninth century (*c.* 851 A.D.):—[9]

"This king (of Jurz) maintains numerous forces, and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He is unfriendly to the Arabs, still he acknowledges that the king of the Arabs is the greatest of kings. Among the princes of India there is no greater foe of the Muḥammadan faith than he.....He has great riches, and his camels and horses are numerous. Exchanges are carried on in his state with silver (and gold) dust and there are said to be mines (of these metals) in the country. There is no country more safe from robbers."[10]

Though the word Jurz has been used by Balādhurī (9th century) in a geographical sense in connection with the raids of Junayd, the Governor of Sind under Caliph Hishām (724-43 A.D.),[11] yet it is probable that in this passage it has been used in an ethnic sense. By "king of Jurj" Sulayman apparently meant "king of the Gurjaras." Dr. Majumdar has identified this prince with the Pratihāra emperor Bhoja I (*c.* 836-882 A.D.), who ruled over an extensive empire in Northern India. The Sanjan grant of Amoghavarṣa[12] and the Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva[13] further

6 *DHNI*, I, 578.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Ibid.*, p. 16.
9 *Elliot*, I, Extracts Trans., pp. 1-7.
10 *Elliot*, I, p. 4; *Journal of the Dept. of Letters*, Calcutta University (*JL*), X, p. 57.
11 *DHNI*, I, p. 9.
12 *EI.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 243, v. 9.
13 *EI.*, Vol. III, p. 266; *DHNI*, I, p. 592.

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strengthen the view that the rulers in question belonged to the Pratihāra clan of the Gurjara tribe.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, writing in 1923, was inclined to accept the view that the word 'Ba'ūrah' "was but an Arabic corruption of the word Pratihāra or its Prakrit form Padihara."[14] He further suggested that the king in question was Mahīpāla (914-17 A.D.), the Gurjara-Pratihāra prince of that name. The possibility that the word 'Ba'ūrah' of Mas'ūdī stood for the dynastic name of the rulers of Kanauj was tentatively accepted by me in 1931 when the first volume of my *Dynastic History of Northern India* was published by the University of Calcutta.[15] Recently Prof. S. H. Hodivala in trying to make a critical commentary on Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*[16] has challenged the correctness of the reading 'Ba'ūrah' accepted by Meynard. The right reading according to him "seems to be *Bozah, Bozoh,* or *Bodzah* (بوذه - بوزوه - بوذزه) i.e. *Bhoja.*" He identifies this 'Bhoja' with Bhoja II who succeeded "the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler" Mahendrapāla (890-910).[17] According to this scholar "Ma'sūdī's statement that the title was common to all the kings of Qanūj is probably due to the fact that Bhoja the Great was succeeded, after some years, by another prince of the same name who had been ruling shortly before the time of Ma'sūdī's arrival in India."[18]

Prof. Hodivala rejects Meynard's reading of the wôrd because "he never gives any variants." He finds his difficulty in selecting the right reading from amongst the many variants solved by the fact that some of these bear a phonetic resemblance to the names of two kings of the Pratihāra line of Kanauj. If this view could be accepted it would indeed be a great step towards the correction of a mistake which has gained currency during recent years in Indian history. But we have to consider carefully the facts at our disposal and see whether the new reading of the word in question is in harmony with the statements of Ma'sūdī. This writer has definitely stated that the word in question was *a title* and not, as suggested by Prof. Hodivala, a personal name. He has also clearly noted that this "title was given to *all* the sovereigns of the royal family of Qanūj." So far as we

14 *JL*, X, p. 65; *DHNI*, I, p. 579 fn. 1.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 4 fn. 3, 15, 579 fn. 1, etc.
16 *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Bombay, 1939, p. 25.
17 The correct dates are *c.* 893-907 A.D. See, *DHNI*, I, p. 611.
18 *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 25.

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know, nearly a dozen kings of this family ruled from Qanūj of which only two kings were named *Bhoja*. It is difficult to reconcile the categoric statement of Ma'sūdī that the word in question "is the title common to all kings of Qanūj" with the suggestion of Prof. Hodivala. In the circumstances it seems that the old reading of Meynard, viz. "Ba'ūrah" (بؤرة) and the view that it possibly represented a corruption of the dynastic name *Pratihāra* or *Padihāra* may be, as before, tentatively retained. As there were sometimes many different princes bearing the same name ruling in different parts of India the custom may have prevailed, at least in common parlance, to attach the name of the dynasty or clan to the name of the king, for example Padihāra Bhoja, Pāvar Bhoja, etc. If we take into account the peculiarities of the Arabic script and specially the very slight difference between ب and پ it is not improbable that after all Meynard had hit upon the right reading and can be fairly depended upon for historical purposes.[19]

In conclusion it may be stated that the city mentioned by Ma'sūdī as "Ba'ūrah" was possibly situated on the N.W. of the territories of the Pratihāra emperors. Ma'sūdī tells us that "through this town passes one of the (five) rivers which form together the river Mihrān (Indus) in Sind."[20] As the Pehowa inscription of Bhoja I[21] shows that the Pratihāras certainly were ruling in areas east of the Sutlej and as Al-Sind in the days of the Arabs extended beyond Multan, it is almost certain that the Punjab was a bone of contention between the two rival powers. A city in the Punjab built by and named after the Pratihāras[22] was at the time when Ma'sūdī visited India, "in the territories of Islam." As I have already observed in my *Dynastic History*,[23] the exact identification of this city named Ba'ūrah is difficult but its identification with "Budha" (Boozah) of Iṣṭakhrī and ibn Hauqal[24] is more than doubtful.

H. C. Ray

19 It is clear from my *Dynastic History* (*DHNI*), Vol. I, pp. 571 ff that the chronological arrangement of the Pratihāra princes after Mahendrapāla I (c. 893-907) is rather uncertain. But the recent attempt to identify Mahīpāla I and Bhoja II, depending partially on the view of Hodivala, must remain inconclusive.

20 *DHNI.*, I, p. 16.

21 *EI.*, I, pp. 184-90; *DHNI.*, I, pp. 570 and map no. 10.

22 Compare the name of this city with modern 'Mughal Kot' in the Zhob District of Baluchistan and Pathankot in the Gurdaspur District of the Punjab.

23 *DHNI.*, I, p. 16.

24 *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*. p. 25.

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The Date of Subandhu

The only thing that may be taken for certain about Subandhu's time is that he was a predecessor of Bāṇa; for this latter writer mentioned the *Vāsavadattā* in his introduction to the *Harṣacarita*. Thus it may be assumed that Subandhu lived some time before the seventh century A.C. This again is corroborated by the fact that Bhavabhūti (*circa* 700 A.C.) reproduced metrically in his *Mālatīmādhava* some lines occurring in the *Vāsavadattā* (=*Vd.*).[1] Thus the sixth century may be taken to be the lower limit to the date of Subandhu (=S.). In the following paragraphs we shall discuss the time of S. and try to see if it is possible to get nearer his exact time. For this purpose we must begin with the tenth introductory stanza of the *Vd.*, which runs as follows:

सा रसवत्ता चिहता नवका विलसन्ति चरति नो कं कः ।
सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ॥

Vikramāditya alluded to in this passage has been identified with Candragupta II (374-413).[2] But in spite of this, many scholars were unwilling to see in S, a contemporary of that monarch, for they thought that in the passage quoted above occurs only a 'conventional harking back to happy times long past.'[3] But such a view about the implication of the passage seems to demand a revision after the discovery of S.'s name in connexion with a son of Candragupta in the *Kāvyālaṃkarasūtra* of Vāmana. The credit of bringing this passage to light and suggesting that it mentions Candragupta's son along with S. belongs to the late Mm. H. P. Shastri. In 1905 he wrote a short note in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* discussing the historical value of the passage.[4] While giving an example Vāmana writes:

सोऽयं सम्प्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयश्चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा जातो भूपतिराश्रयो कृतधियां दिष्ट्या कृतार्थश्रमः and in commenting on this, Vāmana says:

'आश्रयः कृतधियाम्' इत्यस्य च सुबन्धुसाचिव्योपक्षेपपरत्वात् साभिप्रायत्वम् .

For nearly half a decade which followed H. P. Shastri's note, no scholar seems to have given attention to this hypothesis. But in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1911, Mr. K. P. Pathak discussed the passage with the help of the Vāṇivilāsa press ed. of Vāmana's work.[5] Curiously enough in this

1 Studies in Indology to P. V. Kane, Poona. 1941, p. 128 footnote, 33.
2 *JPASB.*, 1905, New Series. pp. 253 ff. and *I. Ant.*, 1912 pp. 15, 16.
3 *Vāsavadattā*. ed. L. Gray, New York. 1913, p. 11.
4 *Vide* note 2 above.
5 *I. Ant.*, 1911, pp. 170-171.

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paper he ignored H. P. Shastri's note as well as the Kāvyamāla ed. of Vāmana's work on which H. P. Shastri depended. As Mr. Pathak read 'Vasubandhu' instead of 'Subandhu' in the passage under discussion he gave a different hypothesis. Assuming the authenticity of Mr. Pathak's reading Hoernle believed that Shastri's reading was merely a conjecture not supported by any Ms.[6] But he disagreed with Mr. Pathak in thinking that Candraprakāśa was a proper name held possibly by Kumārgupta, a son of Candragupta II before his accession to the throne. In this matter he had agreement with Shastri who expressed such a view in 1905. Coming to know of Hoernle's opinion Shastri sent a communication to the *I. Ant.* to say that his reading 'Subandhu' had support of more than half a dozen Mss. from the Northern as well as Southern India while 'Vasubandhu occurred[7] in only one or two Mss. It seems that after this no scholar called into question the propriety of H. P. Shastri's hypothesis which connected S. with Candraprakāśa, a son of Candragupta II (374-413).

Now, if this hypothesis has any merit it throws fresh light on the meaning of the introductory stanza of *Vd.* alluding to Vikramāditya. We have then no necessity of taking this passage as only 'a conventional harking back to happy times long past.' The plain historical fact which we may deduce from a joint reading of the passages in the *Vd.* and Vāmana's work will be as follows: S. who lived very close to Vikramāditya could not complete his *Vāsavadattā* before the passing away of Vikramāditya (Candragupta II). It is very likely that with the accession of a sovereign to power new set of people came to dominate royal affairs. S. seems to have suffered at the hands of such people who might have been unfriendly to him, and the new sovereign in spite of his liking for S. did not probably at once try to displease his influential court circle by bestowing favour on him. This appears to be the reason why S. bewails about the passing away of Vikramāditya and makes an attack on rogues (*khalas*) who were inimical to his literary success. If Hoernle's hypothesis is correct and Candraprakāśa was the name of Vikramaditya's successor before his sitting on the throne, it seems very much probable that he it is who showed his favour to S. after he was firmly established on the throne and was in a position to disregard the court circle and in recognition of S.'s scholarship and literary power he made him

6 *I. Ant.*, 1911, p. 264.

7 *I. Ant.*, 1912, p. 15, 16.

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one of his ministers. This event appears to be recorded in the passage of Vāmana referred to above.

Now all this places S. roughly between 375 and 450 A.C. But there may still be another objection against this date. Subandhu's mention of Uddyotakara has been taken to be an evidence of his being later than the sixth century. For it has been supposed that Uddyotakara refuted the Buddhist logician Diṅnāga who flourished between 520 and 600 A.C.[8] Now this objection does not seem to be strong at all. For Uddyotakara criticizes Buddhist views on *prameya* which have not been discussed in Diṅnāga's *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* and it seems very much likely that D. criticizes some Buddhist logician earlier than him.[9] Even if it may be proved that Uddyotakara criticizes D., that may not place S. after the sixth century, for we have no sure means of ascertaining D.'s date and according to one view D. flourished in 400 A.C.[10] Now from the consideration of data discussed above it seems possible to place S. between 375 and 450 A.C.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

A note on the Hanumān type Copper Coins of Pṛthvīdeva and Jājalladeva of Mahākośala

In his paper entitled "The Coins of the Kalacuris" in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1941, Prof. V. V. Mirashi writes:—

"Mr. Allan has recently pointed out that in view of the probability that Pṛthvīdeva I was still a feudatory and that the dynasty became completely independent in the reign of Jājalladeva I, it is not improbable that *some at least* of the coins should be attributed to Pṛthvīdeva II." In a footnote it is further remarked by the writer that the description of this king as given in the Amoda Plates is indicative of the feudatory rank of Pṛthvīdeva I.

Pṛthvīdeva I in his Amoda plates dated in year 831 of the Cedi era is no doubt described as a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, but he at the same time is

8 *Vāsavadattā*, ed. L. Gray, p. 10.

9 Narendra Ch. Vedāntatīrtha—*Nyāyadarśaner Itihāsa*, (History of the Nyāya System), Calcutta, 1931, p. 229.

10 *Bhāmaha alaṃkāra*, Chowkhamba ed., Benares, 1928, pp. 41-53.

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styled as *sakala-kosal-ādhipati,* i.e., lord of entire Kośala, apparently Mahākośala.

Pṛthvīdeva I's son was Jājalladeva I. His record dated in year 866 of the Cedi era is silent about his rank as an independent monarch. No seals of either of these two kings Pṛthvīdeva I and his son Jājalladeva I, have as yet come to light to enable us to know and compare the respective titles, used by them as rulers.

The Sheorinarayan plates of Ratnadeva II, vanquisher of Coḍa-ganga, dated in year 878 of the Cedi era, contain a seal which describes its donor (Ratnadeva II) as *Mahārāṇaka.* The Sarkhon plates of this king dated in year 880 of the Cedi era, the seal of which is missing, eulogize him as *Sakala-kośalamaṇḍana-śrīḥ.*

If it was possible for Ratnadeva II with the title of *Mahārāṇaka* and the qualifying praise of *sakala-kośala-maṇḍana-śrīḥ* to issue gold and copper coins as Mr. J. Allan thinks, there can be no objection to the suggestion that Pṛthvīdeva I, who was a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and *sakala-kosalādhipati,* had his own coinage.

Again, of the largest hoards of copper and gold coins yet discovered, not a single hoard contained any specimen of gold or copper coins of the *Hanumān type* either belonging to Pṛthvīdeva I or to Jājalladeva I. Such specimens of the Hanumān type copper coins have been recovered by the Mahākośala Historical Society from time to time at and near about Bālpur and from the bed of the Mahānadī (in Bilaspur District) close to it in solitary bits of one at a time. In the absence of any known specimen of gold coins with the figure of a Hanumān on it, it is in itself suggestive of the fact that the Hanumān type coins are earlier than those of the lion type. Their very absence in all the hoards of gold and copper coins found at Sonsari (600 gold coins) in Bilaspur District, at Daldal Sewani (136 gold coins) in the Raipur District, at Baghod (12 small size gold coins of Pṛthvīdeva) in Chandrapur Tract (Raigarh State), old Sambalpur District, at Ialora and in the Khairagar State goes to prove that the lion type coins found in those hoards belonging to the three kings, Pṛthvīdeva, Jājalladeva and Ratnadeva, are later issues. These may therefore be safely attributed to Pṛthvīdeva II, Jājalladeva II and Ratnadeva II (not Ratnadeva III as he is wrongly[1] described by scholars).

1 The reason is that there were three earlier kings called Kalingarāja, Kamalarāja and Ratnarāja. To call Ratnarāja as Ratnadeva I, specially when no records

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The Hanumān type copper coins bearing the names of Pṛthvīdeva and Jājalladeva found at and about Bālpur and in the bed of the Mahānadī, should be attributed to Pṛthvīdeva I and Jājalladeva I respectively. These Hanumān type coins are decidedly heavier and thicker than the later issues of copper coins of lion type which are thinner ones. The *akṣara Śrī* on such coins belonging to Pṛthvīdeva, exactly resembles the *Śrī* as found engraved in the writing of the Amoda plates dated in the Cedi year 831 (cf. lines 18, 23, 28). A reference to the facsimile of the Amoda plates referred to above will fully convince the reader. The angular curve at the end of the stroke or perpendicular line of Śrī as found in the Amoda plates remains the very same on *Śrī* as put on the coins of Pṛthvīdeva. This also lends support to our attribution of the Hanumān type coins to Pṛthvīdeva I.

Prof. Mirashi has tried to attribute different coins of the Haihaya princes to different rulers on the basis of the form of *Śrī* used on their respective coins. But this is not a safe and reliable guide. Within such a short period of time (from 866 to 900 of the Cedi era) it is not possible to think of such a rapid change in the form of the letter *Śrī*. Was the letter *Śrī* made to change its form with the installation of every ruler? Certainly not.

But even taking the shape and size of letters of the legends on the coins as an evidence, the test cannot stand scrutiny. No copper plate inscription of Jājalladeva I has as yet come to light, and the form of *Śrī* adopted during his reign on copper plates is not definitely known to us. The form of *Śrī* as found engraved on the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladeva dated in year 866 of the Cedi era is identical with the form of *Śrī* engraved in the Akaltara stone inscription of the reign of Ratnadeva II (whom I may call Ratnadeva I), the vanquisher of Coḍagaṅga. But the form of *Śrī* as found in the Sarkhon plates of Ratnadeva dated in year 880 of the Cedi era is identical with the form we find in the Amoda plates of Pṛthvīdeva I dated 831. In short, the engravers and writers would have been free to use any form of letters prevalent in their time and, unless there is dated evidence to the effect, it is not possible to classify the coins on the basis of one or two letters except with the help of conjecture.

describe him by that epithet, is wrong. Ratnarāja is called Ratnēśa in some inscriptions, but he is no where mentioned as Ratna*deva*.

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A galloping horse with a lion's claws has been discovered by Prof. Mirashi on the gold and copper coins of the Haihaya princes. Nothing can be more unconvincing and misleading. When the claws of the lion figure on the copper coin of Ratnadeva (cf. *J.N.S.I.*, 1941, Plate III, no. 8 Æ) are so distinctly cut, what more proofs are required to take the animal for a lion? Surely there is no coin of the same type where the *claws* are shown as 'hoofs'. It may be pointed out that in my cabinet I have not got a single *copper coin* of any of the Pṛthvīdevas with a lion type, nor do I remember to have seen any elsewhere. The Baghod hoard of 12 *gold coins* of the lion type (small size, weight 7 ratis each) are all of Pṛthvīdeva.

Regarding the change of metal suggested by Prof. Mirashi with reference to the *three copper coins* of Hanumān type, described by General Cunningham (*C. M. I.*, coins nos. 9-11), one should satisfy himself by examining the original coins before coming to any definite conclusion and make sure of the mistake, if at all, made by former writers. Cunningham, the father of Indian Numismatics, can hardly make such a gross mistake. As no gold coins with the Hanumān type are reported to have been discovered in any part of India uptill now, the coins may in all probability be of copper and not of gold.

There is no proof to show that the Haihaya Hanumān type was in imitation of the same type of coins issued by the Candella kings.

L. P. Pandeya Sharma

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REVIEWS

SELECT INSCRIPTIONS BEARING ON INDIAN HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION, volume I (600 B.C.—600 A.D.) edited by Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., (with 61 plates), pages Royal Octavo xli + 530. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1942.

Due to the scarcity of old historical works, students of ancient and medieval Indian history have to depend a great deal on the epigraphic and numismatic records. Many of them have been edited and published by various scholars in India and Europe. But as these are scattered over a large number of books and different periodical publications, critical students of Indian history are much handicapped in their work. Hence the editor's plan of collecting and editing in a handy volume all the important epigraphs and coin-legends illustrating different phases of the cultural history of ancient India, may very justly demand appreciation of all serious students of our national history.

A glance at a brief summary of the contents of the work will convince one of the great importance that should be attached to it. It has been divided into three Books. The first includes Akhaemenian (old Persian) inscriptions relating to India, edicts of Aśoka and similarly important pre-Christian epigraphs. Book II contains post-Maurya but pre-Gupta records. There are inscriptions of dynasties ruling in western, central and western India, of Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthians, Kushanas including Sakas of western India, inscriptions of Śātavāhanas, Khāravela and inscriptions from Andhradeśa and from regions outside India such as Ceylon and Central Asia. Book III contains inscriptions of Imperial Guptas, and their various contemporaries and subordinates in India and countries, outside India, such as, Burma, Java, Champa, Borneo and Malay Peninsula.

Not the study of Indian history only but the study of Indian literature too requires an acquaintance with inscriptional materials discovered up till now. There is a good number of epigraphs which are written in the best *kāvya* style and can very favourably be compared with the writings of celebrated masters of classical Sanskrit and Prakrit. As these records can with certainty be assigned to a definite date or epoch our fragmentary knowledge

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of the evolution of Indian literature becomes considerably supplemented by a study of inscriptions.

Though the present collection of inscriptions will greatly benefit the student of Indian history, who is eager to have some first hand information about the religious, social, political, economic and literary conditions of the country in the ancient period, it may be said without exaggeration that one to be benefited most by Dr. Sircar's admirable work is the student of Indo-Aryan linguistics. No other language in the world can probably bear comparison with Indo-Aryan as regards its vigorous growth and long life during at least thirtyfive centuries. Due to the wealth of forms it developed in different periods and in different localities, its study has a special fascination to students of linguistics. As the numerous inscriptions (Skt. as well as Pkt.) may with certainty be grouped geographically and assigned to definite dates or epochs, historical study of Indo-Aryan becomes easier when one has, in a handy form, more or less dated records of Indo-Aryan languages from the very ancient times.

Considering the different aspects of importance of inscriptions in Indo-Aryan it can be legitimately hoped that Indian Universities will before long give them proper place in their syllabus for various degrees. Already some Indian Universities, notably among them the University of Calcutta, have taken initiative in the matter and have prescribed a number of inscriptions for the candidates for the M.A. degree in Skt., Pkt., Pali and Ancient Indian History.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Sircar's very valuable compilation will be greatly helpful in the matter. The Skt. rendering of Pkt. inscriptions and various notes which he appends to the texts of epigraphs will greatly facilitate their studies. Numerous facsimilies of inscriptions, and original critical notes which Dr. Sircar has given will render this volume indispensable to the specialist. In this connexion his learned notes on the Indo-Aryan migration to Bengal and the meaning of *Kulyāvāpa* deserve mention (pp. 499-501).

That Dr. Sircar could get such an important work published at a time when the Great War with its numerous difficulties is staring us in the face reflects indeed a great credit on him as well as on his publishers the University of Calcutta.

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Introduction to INDIAN TEXTUAL CRITICISM by S. M. Katre, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), with the Appendix II by P. K. Gode, M.A. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1941. Pages Demy 8vo. XIII + 148.

It is a matter of genuine pleasure to see that Prof. Dr. Katre has attempted to make an end of comparative inattention of Indian scholars in general towards the technique of editing old texts. One can very wholeheartedly agree with him when he says: "With very few exceptions the critical editing of texts in India is lagging behind, and the editors have neither the training nor the proper guidance to qualify them for their task."

The volume under review, an excellent small manual for which the author has drawn materials from various standard works on the subject will go a great way indeed to remove a longfelt want of Indians in the field of Indology. In his introduction (ch. I) he defines the subject and gives a short history of writing in ancient India together with an account of writing materials as well as the relation between oral and written tradition of different works. Influence of different schools in giving shape to different text traditions has also been discussed in the Introduction. Other chapters of the work deal with the following subjects: (II) Kinds of texts, (III) Some fundamental aspects of textual criticism, (IV) The problem of critical recension, (V) Causes of corruption in a transmitted text, (VI) Emendation, (VII) Some canons of textual criticism, (VIII) Practical hints on the editing of texts. In the treatment of all these topics the author has cited suitable Indian examples wherever necessary. Any one reading this work carefully will realize the necessity of preparing critical texts of ancient Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali works, a good number of which have not yet received the thorough scholarly scrutiny they badly need. The very happy lead which the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute has given in the matter in the person of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar the able editor of the great Indian Epic has indeed been appreciated and admired by every serious scholar of India and it seems that a new era has begun as far as the study of ancient texts is concerned.

The work under review includes three useful appendixes: I. A glossary of some important terms used in textual criticism. II. A brief note on the history and progress of cataloguing Skt. and other MSS. in India and outside (1800-1941). III. On some important manuscripts and critical editions. We can very earnestly recommend this small but valuable work to every aspirant in the field of ancient Indian studies. The author and

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the compiler of the Appendix II are to be congratulated on the production of this work and its publication in such a handy and neat form.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA. By Dr. A. P. Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. University of Calcutta, 1942.

This small volume of 160 pages is a collection of papers published in various periodicals during the last ten years. These papers deal with some important topics in the history of the British in India in the eventful period from 1757 to 1784. The paper entitled "The Select Committee in Bengal and its conflict with the Council in 1770" deals with an interesting aspect of the early history of British administration in Bengal. The paper on "Nawab Najimuddowla and the English" shows that "months before the English obtained the dewany from the Emperor of Delhi, they had started taking a hand in the revenue administration of Bengal and that the formal grant by Shah Alam on the 12th August, 1765, only legalised the existing position". These two papers constitute a really valuable contribution to modern Indian history. "A note on the personal relations of Warren Hastings and Sir Thomas Rumbold" analyses some hitherto unpublished letters written by the latter to the former and throws some light on the causes of their quarrel. "A peep into the Macartney papers in the Historical Museum, Satara" gives a brief account of some English manuscripts belonging to Lord Macartney and relating to the period of his Indian administration as well as his subsequent career. The author examined these papers at Satara, but they have now been transferred to the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute at Poona. "The Treaty of Mangalore" analyses the circumstances leading to that famous treaty between Tipu Sultan and the East India Company and vindicates the Madras Government against the charge of having concluded the Second Mysore War with unseemly haste and accepted terms disgraceful to the British. All the papers are based on a careful study of unpublished documents. There are a good index and some interesting illustrations.

A. C. BANERJEE

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HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA, by Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University; published by Nand Kishore & Brothers, Benares, 1942. Pages xxix + 555.

Dr. Rama Shankar Tripathi is well known to students of Indian history as the author of *History of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest* which shows his critical spirit and sound judgment. In the volume under review Dr. Tripathi has given, in the lines of the late Dr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India,* a compendious account of the political and institutional history of ancient India. The latest edition of Smith's work was published as early as 1924, and much fresh and valuable material for Indian history has since then accumulated. It is therefore a good sign that scholars have felt the necessity of bringing out up-to-date works of a similar type as that of the late Dr. Smith. Dr. Tripathi's book will no doubt be welcomed by persons interested in ancient India, especially by students preparing for the degree examinations of Indian Universities.

The book under review is carefully prepared and is sure to be immensely interesting and useful to the general student of Hindu history and culture. It is gratifying to note that in the plan and preparation of the earlier chapters the author has followed more comprehensive works like the *Cambridge History of India,* vol. I. It must be said to his credit that he has always an eye on the cultural life of the period with which he deals.

Dr. Tripathi has tried his best to make the work up-to-date. It is however almost improbable in these days to keep abreast with the gradually increasing literature on the history and culture of India published every month in different parts of the world, especially in the periodicals. By way of illustration it may be pointed out that the recent discovery of some records of the Vākāṭaka dynasty ruling from Basim (ancient Vatsagulma) has escaped the author's notice. It has been proved by recent researches that at the time of Pulakesin II the "province of Veṅgī" (p. 446) was certainly under the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and not under the Pallava king of Kāñcī. The author deals with the history of Kaliṅga and Oḍra (e.g. the account of the Eastern Gaṅgas) in a section entitled 'Medieval Hindu Dynasties of Northern India'. The account of Kaliṅga and Odra, however, ought to have been placed in the section on Dakṣiṇāpatha. The history of some regions, e.g. the Andhra country (especially the history of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty) has been neglected. There are again some

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suggestions (e.g. in the account of the Kadambas, Pallavas, Cālukyas of Bādāmi, etc.) which the author have accepted from works not quite up-to-date. Passages like "Bṛhatphalāyanas of Kudūra", "Viṣṇukuṇḍins of Lendulura" etc. are not quite satisfactory. Nevertheless these are not of great importance and do not detract from the value of Dr. Tripathi's work. Considering the greatness of his task, the defects are rather few, and we have no doubt that the arduous author will try to avoid them in the future edition of the work into which, we hope, it will soon run.

D. C. Sircar

BUDDHA PŪRVA KĀ BHĀRATĪYA ITIHĀSA (Part I) by Rao Raja Dr. Shyam Bihari Misra, D.Litt., and Rai Bahadur Pandit Śukadeva Bihari Misra, B.A.; published by the Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan, Prayāg; 3rd ed., Saṃvat 1996; Price Rs. 2/8/-.

Rao Raja Dr. Shyam Bihari Misra and his brother, Rai Bahadur Pandit Śukadeva Bihari Misra, occupy a prominent place in the world of Hindi letters. Both of them are gifted and prolific writers, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that Hindi literature owes much to their joint contributions on a variety of subjects under the *nom de plume* "Miśra Bandhu." The work under review deals with the history of India prior to the rise of Buddhism. It is a pioneer attempt in Hindi on a period that is obscure and beset with numerous difficulties and chronological uncertainties. The *Purāṇas* are doubtless a vast store-house of information for the early history of India, but, despite the labours of European Orientalists like Wilson and Pargiter and of a number of Indian scholars, specially Dr. Ray Chaudhuri and Dr. Pradhan, who have consistently stressed the importance of the Paurāṇic evidence in their works, there is no gainsaying that much still remains to be done before these mines of ancient wisdom and tradition may be considered to have yielded all their historical treasures. In the present Hindi work "Miśra Bandhus" have, besides utilising other sources, systematically tapped the *Purāṇas* for giving us a connected account of pre-Buddhist India. They have carefully analysed the data, and their conclusions are not unoften at variance with those of their predecessors. Indeed, in respect of some dynastic lists and synchronisms "Miśra Bandhus" have broken altogether new ground. It is noteworthy that in unravelling the tangled webs of Pre-vedic history and culture the authors have not only

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depended on the usual materials brought to light by the archæologists' spade but they have also made full use of the *Purāṇas*. Thus, they have tried to show the historicity of certain non-Aryan tribes that were so far regarded as belonging to the realm of mythology. "Miśra Bandhus" offer some novel suggestions on the "Manvantaras;" they believe that the first five "Manvantaras" were pre-Vedic and pre-Aryan. One may or may not agree with these views, but they are certainly interesting and set forth skilfully. In tackling other topics also, like the problem of the Aryans and the chronological positions of the various ruling families and kings, as well as in depicting the cultural conditions of the times, the authors display a good deal of learning and a faculty of critical reasoning. The book is, on the whole, very well-written, and "Miśra Bandhus" deserve the congratulations of all students of history for the scholarly work they have produced in Hindi on a period that still continues to be a fruitful source of speculation and controversy.

RAMASHANKAR TRIPATHI

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. VI, pt. 3 (October. 1942)

P. K. GODE.—*The Identification of Gosvāmi Narasiṃhāśrama of Dara Shukoh's Sanskrit Letter with Brahmendra Sarasvatī of the Kavīndracandrodaya (Between 1628 and 1658).*

SERIAL PUBLICATIONS.—The editing of several Sanskrit works continues.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*The Āryabhaṭīyavyākhyā of Raghunātharāja—A rare and hitherto unknown work.* The Adyar Library possesses the ms. of a valuable commentary written by Raghunātha about the close of the 16th century on the famous astronomical treatise of Āryabhaṭa.

H. G. NARAHARI.—*A New Recension of the Mahānāṭaka.* The *Mahānāṭakasūktisudhānidhi* consisting of 519 verses is available in mss. The nucleus of the work seems to have been the well-known *Mahānāṭaka* or *Hanumannāṭaka* with a good number of verses dealing with the story of Rāma added to it. Having no prose passages, nor any stage directions, and being divided into Kāṇḍas instead of Acts, the work has lost its appearance as a drama. Its author, patronised by king Devarāya II of Vijayanagar belonged to the 15th century A.C.

Calcutta Review, November, 1942

S. K. BANERJI.—*Firuz Tughluq as seen in his Monuments and Coins.*

Indian Culture, vol. VIII, nos. 2 & 3

H. C. RAY.—*The Line of Kṛṣṇagupta.* Kṛṣṇagupta and his descendant princes are mentioned in several epigraphs found in different places of Bihar. Arguments are put forward against the conclusion that the line of Kṛṣṇagupta is a "branch of the Imperial Gupta dynasty descended from the Mahārāja Gupta."

H. G. NARAHARI.—*The Meaning of Brahman and Ātman in the Ṛgveda.* An analysis of the different senses, in which the words Brahman and Ātman are used in the texts of the *Ṛgveda,* shows that at times, the Upaniṣadic conception of Brahman or Ātman is noticeable even in those old texts.

P. M. MODI.—*Relation of Brahman and Jagat.* The purpose of the paper is to show that the *Brahmasūtra* teaches the complete identity of

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Brahman and the world,—the cause and the effect, even in respect of consciousness and Bliss, which are not perceivable in the objects of the material world. The theory of causation as propounded in the Sūtras has been, it is asserted, reflected more faithfully in the 'Śuddhādvaita' commentary of Vallabhācārya than in other expositions of the Sūtras.

NANI MADHAB CHAUDHURI.—*Mother-goddess Conception in the Vedic Literature.*

P. K. ACHARYA.—*Hindu Architecture and Sculpture.*

BAIJ NATH PURI.—*The Kuṣāṇaputras.* The Kuṣāṇaputras mentioned in several epigraphic records are thought to have been the descendants of the Kuṣāṇas. A chronological history of the line is given here.

Jain Antiquary vol. VIII, no. 2 (December, 1942)

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*A fragmentary Sculpture of Neminātha in the Lucknow Museum.* In the Lucknow Museum is found a number of Jain images brought from the Devanirmita Stūpa of Kankali Tila in Mathura. They are of special value as containing inscribed images of Tīrthaṅkaras with various subsidiary gods and goddesses of the Jain pantheon and some Brāhmaṇical deities as their attendants. One of the images assigned to the Gupta period represents Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha with Baladeva serving him as one of his attendants.

HARISATYA BHATTACHARYA.—*Nārāyaṇas, Pratinārāyaṇas and Balabhadras.* This instalment of the paper deals with the Jain versions of the different episodes of the story of Rāma. They differ substantially from Vālmīki's version.

KALIPADA MITRA.—*Magic and Miracle in Jaina Literature.*

A. N. UPADHYE.—*Prakrit Studies: Their Latest Progress and Future.*

Journal of the Assam Research Society, vol. IX, nos. 1 & 2 (January & April, 1942)

S. C. GOSWAMI.—*Land Grant to the Temple of Umānanda at Gauhati by Badshah Ghazi Auranzeb Salar Khan.* A document in Persian recording the grant of certain lands made by Emperor Aurangzeb to a Brāhmaṇa manager of the temple of Umānanda has been published here. The document proves Aurangzeb's patronage extended to a religious institution of the Hindus.

K. R. MEDHI—*Philosophic Aspect of the Assam Brajāvali Literature.* The Brajāvali works of the Bhakti school of Vaiṣṇavism in Assam show

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that its exponent Śaṅkara Deva and his followers believed in the doctrine of strict monism of Vedānta as interpreted by Saṅkarācārya and found in some portions of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.

S. C. Rajkhowa.—*Ahom Kingship*. Evidence is adduced to prove that there existed in medieval Assam a limited monarchy, and the Ahom kings were not at all absolute.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
vol. XXVIII, pt. 3 (September, 1942)

A. C. Perumalil.—*The India of the Early Greeks and Romans from the Time of Alexander's Invasion till the Fall of Alexandria (336 B.C. to 641 A.D.)*. The writings of those who accompanied Alexander the Great to India, and those who came to the country after his invasion show that these Greek authors had a fairly accurate knowledge of the Geography of India and they knew also the varieties of Indian plant and animals, and the people and their different customs prevailing the country before Christ. The accounts left by the Roman trade and philosophers who frequented the towns of India during the early centuries of the Christian era, when commercial relations were established between Rome and the eastern world, also show how well these authors knew the geographical position of India.

S. K. Roy.—*Mineralogy and Mining in Ancient India*. The writer of the article deals with the condition of mineralogy, mining and metallurgy in the different stages of Indian history from the pre-Vedic times, and things that as the knowledge of mineralogy is necessary for the science of medicine, the former science must have formed a subject of study in the ancient university of Taxila.

S. A. Shere.—*Kings of the Jaunpur Dynasty and their Coinage*.

A. Banerji-Sastri.—*Resemblance of Manichæism to Buddhism*. Translated into English from the original German of Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*.

George M. Moraes.—*The Haṃjamana of the Śilāhāra Records*. The paper supports the view that the city of Haṃjamana mentioned in different epigraphical records of the Śilāhāra kings was an 'administrative unit' of the Northern Śilāhāras. A village called Anjuna in the district of Bardes in the Portuguese territory of Goa has been identified here with Haṃjamana.

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Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,
vol. IV, pt. 1 (June 1942)

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*New Kings and interesting Coin-Types from Kauśāmbī. Notes on Some Pañcāla Coins. A Coin of Vaṅgapāla, a king of Kauśāmbī. A Coin of Madavika, a new king or People. Two Coins of Ajadatta, a new king in Central India. Some interesting Sātavāhana Coins. Some interesting Uninscribed Coins. Some interesting Medieval Coins.*—The papers deal with coins belonging to the collection of Rai Braj Mohan Vyas Bahadur of Allahabad. They reveal the names of nine new kings ruling between the 2nd century B.C. and the 3rd century A.C. at Kauśāmbī. Four other new kings are also known from these numismatic records to have ruled in the Gangetic plain or Central India. Some new types of coins have also been found in this collection.

J. M. UNVALA.—*Hephthalite Coins with Pahlavi Legends.*

V. S. AGRAWALA.—*The Old Names of Sunet and Sudavapa.* Sunet, the find place of a large number of coins and Sudavapa read on a class of coins are regarded respectively to have been Sunetra and Udvapa, two place names enumerated in the list of words in Pāṇini's *Gaṇapāṭha.*

PARAMESHWARILAL GUPTA.—*Identification of Agācha on Agroha Coins.* The word Agācha is thought to be a Prakrit variation of the Sanskrit Agreya, which is conjectured to have been the name of a republic or a tribe.

S. V. SOHONI.—*A Note on Audumbara Temple Coins.* From the banner with a trident-battle-axe seen in front of the temple-like building on some of the copper coins belonging to the Audumbaras of the Panjab. the writer of the note draws the conclusion that the structure on the coins is a Śaiva shrine.

C. R. SINGHAL.—*A Hoard of 3877 Billon Coins of the Sultans of Delhi.* The big hoard of coins discovered by a ploughman at Triambak in Nasik contains coins of three rulers, viz. Balban, Alauddin Khilji, and Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq.

Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute,
vol. III, no. (January-June, 1942)

K. C. VARADACHARI.—*Śrī Kulaśekhara's Philosophy of Devotion* Kulaśekhara, ruling in the 7th century over Madura and other principalities

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in Southern India, was a great Āḷvār. His *Perumal Tirumoḷi* containing 105 hymns in Tamil reveals the heart of a devotee trying to achieve union with God by mentally establishing some sort of relationship with Him. The treatise divided into ten sections speaks of the different kinds of attitudes taken by a *bhakta* in relation to his object of worship. Kulaśekhara lays great emphasis on the Devakī-Kṛṣṇa attitude and the Kauśalyā-Rāma attitude, extolling in this way the sentiment of Vātsalya more than that of Madhura.

—.—*Buddhist and Yoga Psychology*. The purpose of the paper is to show the correspondences between the Buddhist and Yoga methods of attainment of ecstasy, *dhyāna, prāṇāyāma* etc.

N. Aiyaswami Sastri.—*Aśoka's Edicts and Sagga* (*Heaven*). It is argued in the paper that the references in the Aśokan Edicts to the heavenly bliss as a reward of righteous living have not been influenced by the Vedic religion which offered the attainment of heaven as a result of the sacrificial rites. Aśoka was a thorough Buddhist, as his Edicts show, and fulfilled the duties of a Cakkavatti (Emperor) as assigned by Buddha.

M. Ramakrishna Kavi.—चाणक्यसूत्रम् A rare treatise on the Nītiśāstra, supposed to have been the source of the *Kauṭilīya*, has been edited here.

Ibid., vol. III, no. 2 (July-December, 1942).

K. C. Varadachari.—*The Philosophy of Religion of the Āḷvārs*. The Āḷvārs or the Vaiṣṇava saints of southern India have left hymns in Tamil containing religious and philosophical ideas that are found in the highest lore of the Bhāgavatas and the Pāñcarātras. The controversial points about the age of the Āḷvāras are discussed in the paper, and all the ten saints are assigned to dates earlier than the 9th century A.C. The paper also presents an exposition of the religious thought of the first three Āḷvāras, Poygai Bhūtattār and Pey as found expressed in the three hundred verses forming the three *Tiruvandādis* (of hundred verses each) composed by them.

N. Subrahmanya Sastri.—*Syllogistic Reasoning*. A comparative study of Indian and European logic.

T. K. Gopalaswami Aiyangar.—*Are Karmendriyas accepted by Akṣapāda?* According to the later advocates of the Nyāya system of philosophy,

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only six organs can be regarded as *indriyas*, because the motor organs (*karmendriyas*) do not satisfy in their opinion the definition of an *indriya*. It has been shown in the paper that Akṣapāda, the exponent of the system, does not himself exclude the motor organs from the category of *indriyas*. It is argued that as Akṣapāda has not opposed the Vedāntin's theory in respect of the inclusion of the *karmendriyas* as *indriyas*, he must have been a 'Vedāntic-Logician.'

D. T. Tatacharya.—*Theories of Sentence-significance*. The paper contains a discussion of the opinions of the different schools of thought as to how a sentence as a combination of words conveys an idea and contributes to our knowledge.

N. Aiyaswami Sastri.—*Bhāmaha*. Bhāmaha is assigned a date earlier than that of Daṇḍin. He is surmised to have been originally a Gauḍa having migrated afterwards to Kashmir. Bhāmaha seems to have followed, at least partially, the reforms introduced by Diṅnāga in the field of logic and epistemology. So, it is possible that he belongs to the school of the Svātantrika Mādhyamikas of the Mahāyānic form of Buddhism. Many passages quoted in different works as sayings of Bhāmaha but not found in his *Kāvyālaṅkara* have been discussed regarding their authorship.

T. K. V. N. Sudarsanacharya.—रसगङ्गाधरे कश्चन प्रघट्टः - मूलव्याख्यानयोर्विरोधपरामर्शः.—It is an attempt at reconciliation between the apparent contradictions in the text of the *Rasagaṅgādhara* and its commentary *Marmaprakāśa*.

K. B. Nilameghacharya.—श्रीगीतामहिमा.— This is an appreciation of the excellence of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri.—अप्पय्यदीक्षितविरचितशिवध्यानपद्धतिः.—Edited.

Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society,
vol. XV, pt. 1 (July, 1943)

Prayag Dayal.—*Presidential Address of the Numismatic Society of India for 1941*.

Radha Kumud Mookerjee.—*Universities in Ancient India with Special Reference to Āyurvedic Studies*. A close personal relation subsisting between the teacher and the taught was a special feature of general education in ancient India. Organised activities for the promotion of learning as against indivdual efforts were noticeable in the institutions

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that grew up for the prosecution of advanced studies at places like Nālandā, Vikramaśilā, Jagaddala, Odantapurī, Valabhī and Mithilā. Important details about the University of Nalandā as found in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims are given in the paper, and various data are collected from the Āyurvedic texts like the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, Pali treatises like the *Milinda Pañho*, and the *Jātakas*, and several Buddhist canonical works, to discuss the methods of medical study obtaining in the centres of learning like Taxila, the condition of medical profession as a whole, the treatment of cases by medical practitioners, and the hospital arrangements.

KRISHNADASA.—*A Kinnara-mithuna Terracotta Case from Rajghat, Benares.*

S. K. BANERJI.—*Ghiasuddin Tughluq Shah as seen in his Monuments and Coins.* The coins, buildings, and military works, of Tughlaq Shah indicate that his was a prosperous reign.

JANGIR SINGH.—*Raja Todar Mal's Sons.* This is a brief account of the careers of Dharu or Govardhandhāri and Kalyāṇ Dās, the two sons of Toḍar Mal, the celebrated minister of Akbar.

RADHAKAMAL MUKHERJEE.—*The Economic History of India: 1600-1800.* The social stratification and the industries and markets are the main topics discussed in this instalment of the paper.

Joural of the Universiry of Bombay, vol. xi, pt. 1 (July, 1942).

A. P. KARMAKAR.—*The Vrātyas in Ancient India.* Evidence has been adduced from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* to show that the Vrātya cult mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* is non-Aryan in character. It was an institution developed among the indigenous peoples of India and was not confined to any one tribe or locality. "The early peoples of Mohenjo Daro, the Mahīṣikas, the Colas, the Ambaṣṭhas and the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis were styled as Vrātyas." The Aryans started a parallel institution of *Cāturvarṇya*, and afterwards began to take the Vrātyas into the Aryan fold by means of conversion as the Vrātya-stomas indicate.

Ibid. vol. XI, part 2 (September, 1942)

H. D. VELENKAR.—*Hymns to Indra by the Bharadvājas.* Thirty-one hymns of the 6th Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda* addressed to Indra by the seers of the Bharadvāja family are translated into English and annotated.

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P. V. KANE.—*The Rājaśāstras of Bṛhaspati, Uśanas, Bhāradvāja and Viśālākṣa.* The paper discusses the views of Bṛhaspati, Uśanas, Bhāradvāja and Viśālākṣa as can be known from the references and quotations found in the *Mahābhārata, Arthaśastra* and such other Sanskrit works. Bṛhaspati's work seems to have been a comprehensive treatise on Rājadharma written in mixed prose and verse.

G. V. DEVASTHALI.—*Gaṅgārāma Jaḍin.* Four works,—the *Caṣaka,* a commentary on the *Tarkāmṛta* of Jagadīśa, the *Dinakarīkhaṇḍana,* a dialectical treatise on the Mīmāṃsāśāstra, the *Naukā,* a commentary on Bhānudatta's *Rasatarańgiṇī,* and the *Rasamīmāṃsā* with *Chāyā* are known to have been written by Gaṅgārāma during the period between the last decade of the 17th century and the middle of the 18th. Many well-known Sanskrit authors were related to him.

P. K. GODE.—*A Contemporary Manuscript of Bhānuji Dīkṣita's Vyākhyāsudhā.* An incomplete ms. of the *Vyākhyāsudhā,* Bhānuji Dīkṣita's commentary on the *Amarakoṣa,* deposited in the Government Mss. Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute contains a chronogram bearing the date of Saṃvat 1705 or A.C. 1649. The importance of the ms. lies in the fact that the transcript was executed during the life-time of the author. The colophon of the ms. reveals that Bhānuji's patron Kīrtisiṃha was a prince of the Baghela dynasty, ruling over the Mahīdhara territory. Mr. Gode has identified Kīrtisiṃha with Fateh Singh, the founder of the Sohawal State in Baghelkhanda in Central India. Mahīdhara, according to him, means the Maihar State.

A. N. UPADHYE.—*Padmaprabha and his Commentary on the Niyamasāra.* This forms a critical study of Padmaprabha and his *Tatparyavṛtti,* a Sanskrit commentary on the Prakrit work *Niyamasāra* of Kundakunda, the celebrated Jaina author of important theological treatises. Padmaprabha flourished about the close of the 12th century.

K. R. POTDAR.—*Contemporary Life as Revealed in the Works of Bāṇa.* In this instalment of the paper, the subjects are dealt with under the following headings: People, their occupations, sports, etc.; social intercourse, etiquette, sports, dress, etc.; household, social and religious ceremonials; city life, village life, and forest life; learning art and literature.

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A Few Opinions

Prof. M. Winternitz.—It is full of highly interesting and important matter, and keeps up a high standard of scholarship..... It promises to become a great help to all students of Indian History.

Prof. H. Jacobi.—I have perused your quarterly with great interest..... I may have occasion to contribute to it now and then.

Prof. J. Jolly of Germany—I entertain a very high opinion of the Quarterly.

Dr. E. J. Thomas.—The Indian Historical Quarterly has always attracted me as being one of the most interesting Oriental Journals and I realise how much this depends on wise editorship. I think you are doing a great work in helping and stimulating oriental scholarship in India.

Prof. Sylvain Levi.—Congratulate you on the truly 'national' work you are doing for Mother India. Your Quarterly is the best evidence of the wonderful progress accomplished by Indian scholars in these last years, a progress that I followed with a sincere joy.

Dr. Otto Strauss.—I am very well pleased with your Journal and I hope it will be as interesting and successful as the bygone years.

Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri, Hony. Member. Royal Asiatic Society: The Quarterly is becoming more and more useful, more and more learned. You deserve the thanks of the Indian public by focussing so many eminent writers in your Quarterly..... I am reading all Oriental Journals, and about India yours is the most informing.